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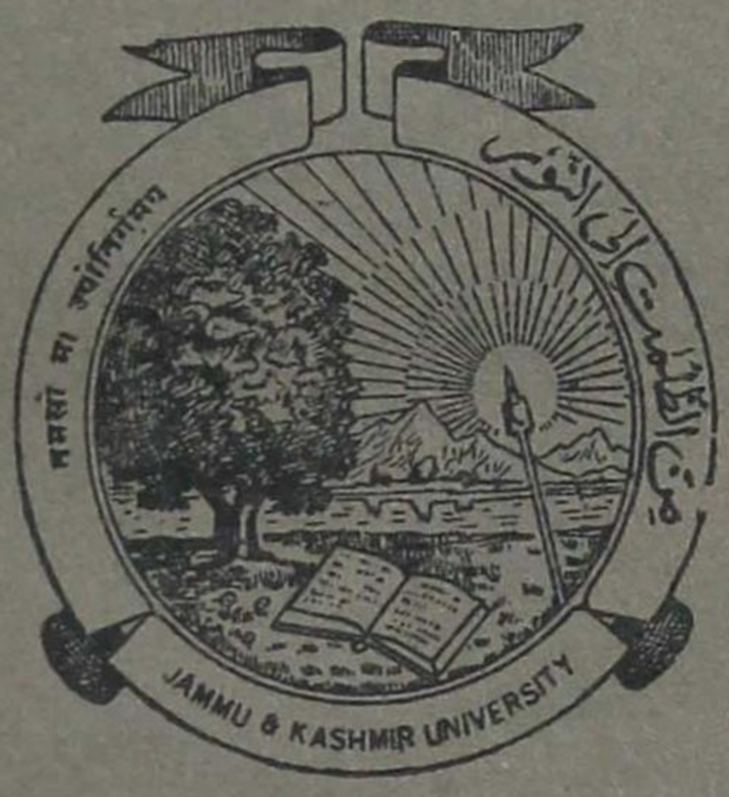

The University of Jammu & Kashmir
Kashmir Division

Vol. X September, 1968 No. 1

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THE
JAMMU & KASHMIR UNIVERSITY
REVIEW

Vol. X | September 1968 | No. 1

EDITORIAL

STUDENTS all the world over are the only assurance for the future of mankind. If they do not destroy the opportunity that life offers to them, they have infinite time to look for another habitable world. Yet they are helpless victims of power politics, oppression, malice and greed for power. The world they live in has lost its solidity, Bergson's theory of time, Freud's theory of the subconsious and Einstein's ideas of time and space, among other things, having altered the concept of reality. Even science has allowed itself to become paradoxical and speculative. For example, Heisenberg's principle of Indeterminacy can be quoted as an example, among many, pointing to the ambiguity of science. The more one probes into the heart of the matter, the more one discovers the most painful uncertainty. It is difficult not to agree with Spengler and Toynbee about the whole future of Western civilization becoming problematic. The ideas of morality and religion need a new interpretation. The concepts of human essence and divine transcendence, on which Christian humanism rested since the Rennaissance, are even boldly questioned by modern Existentialism. The world of the modern student is one which has absorbed uncertainty in its very texture. Modern student, like modern man, feels alienated from his society. He is also unknown to himself. Perhaps his role is pre-eminently that of an outsider. He feels that he has been left alone to shore

up bits of his experience in an attempt to make some connection between them, his education being the record of his search for connection and meaning.

Of course, students do not think exactly on these philosophical lines. But they imbibe the cynical implications of this uncertainty, the result being their unrest. They have lost faith in the established rules of nation-to-nation behaviour as the basic standard of a world legal order. They need a true mankind perspective which is the best safeguard against parochialism. The teacher can do much to help the student slide out of this lurid *milieu*. He can inspire him with faith in the divinity of man, preventing him from getting alienated not only from his environment but also, from himself. The teacher has to influence the student's mind effectively in the context of the complexity of human nature, man being no longer a simple and integrated phenomenon but extremely a difficult thing, more or less like an iceberg, nine-tenths of which are under water. He has to function not in the understanding of the backward-looking philosophy of Rousseau but in the light of Freud's *Civilization and its Discontents*, Jung's *Modern Man in search of a Soul*, and Lawrence's idea of his characters being "a succession of allotropic states".

As for matters nearer home, there has been, on the campus, an ever increasing emphasis on the corporate life. The students, teachers, and others may well claim credit for the harmonious and peaceful atmosphere they maintained in the circumambience of unrest in the next door neighbourhood. Is that not really typically Kashmiri spirit not to get wild in spite of provocations ? The University welcomes criticism so long as it is constructive. But occasionally the University has to reckon with scandal-mongers who seem to give the impression that the University commits the Seven Deadly Sins every day. It is to be noted with gratitude that the Chief Minister, who appears to have seen through the loud-mouthed campaign of vilification against the University, adopted the attitude of his characteristic understanding and friendliness. Day by day the strength of students from the Higher Secondary to M. A. is increasing. But people have to get used to the Statutes, the University secrecy and to the failure of the students in the examinations. Perhaps they will learn to become constructive critics as time rolls on. The University staff (the Departments and

the Registry) will on their part be more enthusiastically serviceable. Of course, we find in Dr. J.N. Bhan, another Scholar-Vice-Chancellor, raising one's hopes for the progress of the University as a whole. He has been working hard to improve the quality of administration as well as of teaching in the University. He will surely achieve success which he deserves on account of his experience and efficiency. What the University has done in the matter of construction of buildings and roads, and sports and general academic activities will be included in the Joint Registrar's report following the Governor's article here.

Dr. M. S. Want.

Address by the Chancellor to the History Conference

MANY of you must have visited before this thrice blessed valley and I am sure that all of you must be happy to have this opportunity of making another visit at this time of the year. I have used the words "thrice blessed" advisedly. The foremost blessing of the valley is its indescribable beauty. Its lakes, its rivers and rivulets, its lush and rolling landscape, its verdant hills and its backdrop of high snow covered Himalayan ranges form an ensemble unique in character. There seems to be nothing discordant. There is such a lyric charm about it with its softness, its gentleness and its dreamlike quality that it is difficult to believe that such a place exists in this mundane world. Its other blessing is its rich and perfect climate. Here all the seasons are well marked. The severe winter with its snowfalls is now just round the corner and with the weather as it is today, it is not difficult to believe that in not many weeks from now the temperature would be blow the freezing point. The spring after the winter appears with the joy of rebirth and then it slowly moves into the heat of summer followed by a phase of autumn and then the winter. And here one has not to wait for the season of monsoon for the rains to come. Whenever temperature rises nature responds and there is a welcome shower. The third blessing of the valley is its people, who are handsome, intelligent and possess tremendous creative power whether in handicrafts or music or other arts. The people themselves appear to be the product of their environment. They are not only handsome but also gentle and peace loving. And so you are welcome to this thrice blessed valley.

I am particularly happy that one of the subjects which you have selected for discussion at this conference is "The sources of the history of Kashmir". This is not merely because I happen to be here but because I do believe that a study of the history of this valley will be of considerable relevance to the study of the history of the growth of human society in this sub-continent situated between the great landmass of the Himalayas in the north

and the Indian Ocean in the south. This landmass forms a natural region of the world. It has a history extending over thousands of years. It has throughout been susceptible to invasions from abroad not merely involving the entry of large masses of people but also new ideas, new cultural patterns and new impulses. Its people have had perpetually the problems connected with the assimilation of new elements. Each invasion has invariably involved a revolutionery phase followed by a resisting but persistent process of synthesis. Some parts of the country like northern India have been subjected more to these periodic revolutionary phases than the others, and accordingly the history of the different parts of the subcontinent displays in varying intensity the consequences thereof. The political patterns of power which reflected these phases of revolution and synthesis have had only a superficial relevance although in the pages of history they appear to dominate. These conflicts of kings and dynasties were in reality only superficial phenomena. Underneath the Indian society was working out its own pattern of life according to the logic of own conservation and change. We have to discover and understand the process that was happening under the surface. The physical conditions of life in this village are such that they tend to evolve a unity of pattern in the life of its people. No doubt foreign influences have been penetrating into the valley from time to time but they came more by way of trade and other peaceful means. The old silk route to Central Asia passed through this valley and that naturally helped in the introduction of new ideas and fresh cultural elements from Central Asia.

In former times the main religions in the valley were Buddhism and various forms of Hinduism. Possibly it was from this valley that Buddhism made its entry into Central Asia and beyond. It is probable that the two religions lived side by side reacting on each other and possibly evolving identical forms of religious practice. Islam, which came into northern India with invading conquerors and thereby got identified with the ruling classes, was introduced here through the gentle persuasion of sufi-Saints. In the absence of any violent conflict, the Kashmiri society appears to have evolved a harmonious pattern of life for all its people. Even in recent times when religion as a political force has contributed much to the tension and turmoil in other parts of this subcontinent, Kashmiri life has remained significantly free from them. Serious political problems have faced the people

but the social, cultural and religious life of the people has flowed on in as gentle and unruffled a manner as their beautiful Dal Lake. A similar situation I noticed in Kerala where Islam came in the tenth century in the company of traders and travellers. There is an interesting anecodote recorded in a medieval text about a Raja, who has his domain round about modern Cochin He heard of a new religion in Arabia revealed to mankind through a great *rishi*. He thought that it was the fifth Veda and being a pious man he left his country for Arabia to find out more about it. From Arabia he wrote to his people about the greatness of the revealed religion and the practice of its followers. He advised his people to provide land for the construction of temples from which the priests of the new religion could preach to his people in Malabar. His advice was followed. Many mosques were built and in that peaceful way Islam was introduced in that area. Barring a few stray episodes, the progress of Islam was not marked by any violence and in the land of Malabar those tensions with which we are familiar in northern India never occured. More or less similar was the history of the introduction of Christianity in Kerala with the consequence that to this day the social and cultural life of the people flows smoothly and in harmony although people of different faiths are meticulous in the observation of their own personal religions. In contrast, in northern India religion came to be identified with the conflicts of the ruling castes and classes and got involved in the political struggle of one ruling group and another. This conflict has seriously distorted the landscape of history and it is now difficult to unravel and discover those elements which governed the life of the masses. The situation in Kashmir is different and I am sure that by a careful study of the character and growth of its society historical research will be greatly benefitted.

For the study of the society in earlier times Kalhana's famous *Rajatarangini* and *Neelmata Purana* provide excellent material. Recently I have read a study of the *Neelmata Purana* by Dr. Ved Kumari of this University. It is a very interesting study of economic life, including means of recreation such as music, dancing theatrical performances and sports, arts and crafts, dresses and ornaments, cosmetics, food and drinks, domesticated animals, culture and trade, political thought and organization, army and war, religious cults, festivals and religious practices, philosophy and language. It surprised me to find how large is the number of practices of those ancient times which, with the modifications that are bound

to take place in the course of centuries, are still prevalent in this valley. For instance, the festival which takes place in this valley in early spring when the almond trees are in blossom can be traced back to the days when the *Neelmata Purana* was composed.

These ancient texts have to be interpreted in a special way. It is often said that in ancient times the art of writing history was not known in India and that this art came in the middle ages from the West. In a sense this is correct but in another it is not true. There was a system of recording history even in very ancient times but it was very different from the system that was introduced in later times. The modern system had its origin in Greece. It involves meticulous care in regard to chronology on the one hand and emphasis on the life and doings of important people or groups of people on the other. This system has many advantages. It is precise and it enables events of significance to be arranged in chronological order. The ancient system of our country was different. Chronology was not considered of very great importance. It was assumed that one event would lead to another and that as a result of the series of events a final situation would be reached and the historian was concerned with the conditions and changes in those conditions of the era of which he was the chronicler. To him chronological sequence was of no importance. Nor were the actors except in so far as their life and activities interpreted the social factors. Thus if we get away from the basic interpretative difficulties the *Puranas* and the *gathas* provide good source material for the study of the ancient society and of the factors operating thereon. If our main concern is not the ephemeral lives of individual men, whether they are heroes or ordinary mortals, conquerors or losers, warriors or cowards, rich or poor, but with the human society, its mode of living, its pratices, its cultural and economic life, its philosophy and attitudes and so on,, these ancient texts provide fascinatingly rich material.

The other subject for discussion in this Conference is "Historians and historiography in modern India." I am interested to find that many papers would be read about the famous historians of our times. Naturally, I expect that these studies will not be so much concerned with the life of the historians themselves as with their contributions to the history of our country. The doings of human beings, however great, are of no major historical significance.

They are merely bubbles on the ocean of time. But what they have written about, what they have unravelled and illuminated by their efforts, form part of a common pool which is the history of our people.

In conclusion I would say, although it is not relevant to the subjects with which this Conference is concerned, that it is the paramount duty of our historians to establish and emphasize the essential unity of Indian civilization. Apparently this may appear to be a difficult task but in reality it should not be so. Our difficulty arises primarily from the fact that we have been following the outdated historical method of treating history as the political growth of a nation, not as a record of an integrated civilization but as the biography of political power whether of feudal lords or of kings or of States. In India there has not been until recent times a single political unit, although there always has been an integrated and organically balanced Indian civilization. Obviously if we are to search for unity in the record of conflicts and wars between kings and dynasties or ruling classes, our search will be in vain because we will search for something that has never been. We have tried to glorify great empires as the symbols of the political unity of the country but the historic truth is that there has been till recently no single political unit in the country which has held universal sway. We have to adopt different approach in re-writing the history of Indian people, We should give up the pursuit of political history of kings and dynasties and concentrate our attention on the evolution of the Indian society and civilization in its many facets with the help of archaeology, anthropology and sociology. The glorious truth is that the vast masses of people have throughout the ages shown a remarkable unity in cultural, religious and social life and a note-worthy capacity to absorb new elements and evolve a pattern of life and civilization which alone made it possible for them to conserve its essential social cohesion. The history of India therefore has to be a history of the social growth of a nation and not primarily a political history. The Indian society and civilization has during the course of ages shown considerable discord and decadence in its political life but remarkable cohesion and unity in its social and cultural forms. If we grasp this fundamental truth and concern ourselves with the history of our society and not of personalities that have flitted across the pages of its history,

our historical research should be able to present to our Indian boys and girls the true nature and character of our civilization. We must also remember that the history of India is the history of a continent. The attempt to glorify the history of one region or the other appears some times to imply the glorification of one part of the country at the expense of another. If the separate contribution of the different regions of the country to the sum-total of a national history can be measured, it will be found that each region has made contribution of almost equal value. In the writing of the history we must emphasise this element of common contribution of all regions to our common heritage.

We should also concern ourselves more than we have done hitherto with the factors which have contributed to the evolution of our history. We must endeavour to approach the historical problems with a philosophy of history—what determines the nature and character of a society and what are the factors which contribute towards its change. There are many schools of thought in this respect. We may accept one or the other. We may accept the theory of economic interpretation, or we may accept the theory of challenge and response or we may evolve another theory in regard to what provides the motive power of change—the historians cannot deal with history without a philosophy of history.

What Mr. Gupta, Joint-Registrar, says.

THE idyllic site for the University Campus is marvelled by the defiant majesty of the overlooking barren hills, the sizzling breeze of the Dal and the Nagin Lakes, the enchanting gallopade of the swinging chinars of the Naseem, the articulation of the piquant flora and, above all, the seething systolic beats of the youthful hearts, hooping around gleefully. *This* is Amar Singh Bagh, 125 acres in area, a munificent gift from His Highness Dr. Karan Singh, situated at a distance of about 7 miles from Srinagar city.

The Arts Block, a five lakh rupee production, was the first building to spring at the Campus in the year 1958-59. This was followed by the construction of the Botany-Zoology Block, the Physics and Mathematics Block and the Boys Hostel in 1960-61 and the Administrative Block in 1961-62. The construction of Gandhi Bhavan, the Chemistry Block, Staff Quarters and a Teachers' Hostel was completed last year. Development of the Campus is going apace. Roads have been constructed and improved upon. Lawns have been laid out and developed.

The Post-graduate Departments of English, Hindi, Urdu, Persian Political Science, History, Economics, Education, Mathematics, Botany, Zoology, Physics and Chemistry are functioning at the Campus. Teaching is also imparted for the Diploma Course in Public Administration. The total enrolment during the current session in the Post-graduate Departments of the Kashmir Division is about 700. The number of women students in some departments is more than the men students. There are forty research scholars registered in the Kashmir Division who are working at present for their Ph. D. degree.

The University Grants Commission have sanctioned a total grant of Rs. 96.72 lakhs for the Fourth Plan Period for the development of the the University. Only 70% of this amount would, however, be actually made available on priority basis. The budget estimates of the University for the current year are as under :—

	Kashmir Division	*Jammu Division*	*Central Unit*	*Total*
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Non-plan	20,08,000	12,82,600	12,55,000	45,45,600
Plan	28,95,700	25,65,800	5,34,500	59,96,000

The total income of the University, mainly from examination fees, is Rs. fifteen lakhs. The State Government is expected to provide Rs. 31 lakhs, the University Grants Commission Rs. 36 lakhs and the Central Government Rs. 13 lakhs during the current financial year.

Owing to limited resources and grants available, no new departments are contemplated to be opened upto 1970-71. The existing departments are intended to be consolidated and strengthened.

Plans are afoot to construct a Library Building with provision for central heating at a cost of about Rs. 15 lakhs. Prof. M. V. Mathur, Head of the Department of Architecture, Panjab University, Chandigarh, has been entrusted with the preparation of the plan. The construction of this building is likely to be taken up in hand early next year. In order to meet the expenditure for this building proposal for the construction of the Social Sciences Block has been deferred. Paucity of funds necessiated the postponement of the construction of more staff quarters this year.

The Campus needs urgently a satisfactory and dependable water supply system, internal electrification and a boundry wall. A sum of Rs. 2.69 lakh was paid to the Public Health Engineering Department last year for bringing the main water pipe line upto the main gate of the University A sum of Rs. 1.31 lakhs was advanced to this Department in August 1968 for laying internal distribution of water supply lines. The Campus can expect a regular and systematic water supply towards the end of this year.

Detailed plans for the electrification of the entire Campus areaand a boundary wall have been sent to the Union Ministry of Education for approval and would be implemented as soon as the approval is received.

The University had intended to acquire an area of 368 kanals adjoining the Campus, including the present Vice-Chancellor's

lodge under the Land Acquisition Act for future extension. Proceedings had been under process since 1964. This year we had to request the Collector to drop the proceeding as, with the mounting rates of land around the Campus area, the University would not be able to pay the compensation to the owners.

The scales of pay of the teaching staff of the University were revised from April 1967 in accordance with the recommendations of the University Grants Commission. Scales of pay of the administrative and other categories of staff have also been revised according to the revision made in the scales of pay in the State Government.

The Jammu and Kashmir University Act of 1965 was amended with the promulgation of the Jammu and Kashmir University (Amendment) ordinance on 30th August, 1968. There will now be a single set of Boards of Studies, Faculties and the Boards of Research Studies instead of two contemplated in the Ganguli Committee recommendations. The results of the University examinations would be declared centrally and not by Divisions. With this amendment various bodies of the University including the Senate would be constituted shortly.

The following extension lectures were arranged at the Campus :—

S. No.	*Date*	*Speaker*	*Topic*
1.	20th & 22nd June, 1967	Dr. K. G. Saiyidain	1] Nehru the Man 2] Mind that Nehru wanted to build.
2.	30th May, 1968	Dr. Raj Kumar, Prof of English, Panjab University, Chandigarh	Function of literature today.
3.	18th & 19th June, 1968	Dr. B. S. Upadhyaya, eminent Archaeologist, Indologist & Historian.	1] Influence of the Middle East on Indian sculpture 2] A world view of history and culture.
4.	28th June, '68	Dr. Abdul Aleem, Vice-Chancellor, Aligarh University	

S. No.	Date	Speaker	Topic
5.	2nd & 3rd July, 1968	Mr. Balwant Gargi, Head : Dept. of Indian Theatre, Panjab University.	1] Urdu and Hindi Theatre in Modern times. (Educational drama in the Western countries) 2] Folk Theatre in India, stilization, stage devices and use of song, dance and masks.
6.	9th & 10th Sept. 1968.	Prof. Herbert Marshall of the University of Southern Illinois, USA.	1] Cultural trends in Soviet Union. 2] Art of the Films 3] Shakespeare on stage.
7	10th Oct. '68	Dr. B. B. Majumdar of Patna University	Social Reform by legislation in India in the 19th century.
8.	14th & 15th Oct. 1968	Smt. Tarakeshweri Sinha M. P. [Lok Sabha]	Union-State Financial relations.

This young University has now entered the portals of adolescence with the concomitant signs of maladjustment and deformities. It is the stage where essential propensities of accommodation, understanding and tolerance are cultivated and established with proper channelisation and direction of the libidinal force. It is indeed a difficult period and there is no doubt that this stage would be traversed successfully with sustained effort.

There is much that remains to be done and achieved in the University. Each member of the fraternity is, however, making his or her contribution for its development and maintenance and improvement of academic standards. There may not be a overt manifestation but a covert and steady yet sure fermentation is surging through.

OBITUARY

The students, members of the staff of all the departments and the Administrative Block mourn the sad demise of Professor Advani, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Jammu and Kashmir. Professor Advani was a widely loved man on account of his scholarship and administrative capability and what is more important, he was affectionate towards every-body he dealt with. He died full of years, offering yet another example of age blooming into "mellow fruitfulness". The University, students and members of the staff and others offer condolence to the bereaved family, particularly to Mrs. Advani.

May God bless his soul!

To Write on Nothing : *Locrine*

By

Dr. M. S. Want

OF Swinburne's *Locrine* Hopkins wrote : "It is scarcely to be called a play...but for music of words and the mastery and employment of a consistent and distinctive poetic diction, a style properly so called, it is extraordinary. But the diction is Elizabethan or nearly : not one sentence is properly modern, except where there could in no case be any difference to be made. I should think it could only be in Persian or some other Eastern language that a poetical dialect so ornate and continuously beautiful could be found. But words only are only words[1]." Swinburne would have himself admitted that, from the point of view of tone and diction, *Locrine* is Elizabethan.[2] One wonders how Hopkins thought of the possibility of *Locrine* resembling anything in Persian or some other Eastern language. There appears to be nothing in any Eastern language to justify such a conclusion. If Hopkins had in mind only *Selimus*[3] and Fulke Greville's *Mustapha* and *Alaham*, he would not have found it necessary to refer to any Eastern language for the "ornate" diction of *Locrine*.

Sources.

In his letter of March 18, 1899,[4] Swinburne wrote to Gosse that there was something in "the various arrangements of rhyme" of *Locrine* to remind one of "Greene's *Selimus* as well as Lord Brooke's toughest of dramatic indigestibles." The authorship of *Selimus* has been a very debatable matter among some critics[5]. Mr. Kenneth Muir adduced his five points,[6] which seem to be dubious, in support of Greville's authorship of *Seliwus* but eventually left the matter undecided. He even concluded that it was, "however, possible that Greene was the author" of not only the blank verse parts but also of the rhymed ones. The first scene of *Selimus* consists mainly of soliloquy in 8-line stanzas ; the Second scene is also mainly soliloquy and contains twenty 7-line stanzas ; two other scenes IX and XIX, have a large number of rhymed lines. The rest of the play is almost wholly in blank verse. It may appear that the authorship of *Selimus* does not make any difference to Swinburne who would seem to agree with Grosart[7] and Storojenko[8]

Selimus being included among the works of Greene. But there would seem to be a great point in *Selimus* being ascribed to Greene. The swinging of its author between rhymed lines and blank verse would point to the play belonging to Green's first period when he had neither outgrown his love of rhymed lines nor had he completely acquiesced in Marlowe's blank verse. The lines 349-68, 1244-51, and 1400-15 show that Greene is still parodying Marlowe as he did, for example, in his *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*.[9] From the point of view of versification, therefore, the author of *Selimus* would seem to be solving an important problem and not writing, as Swinburne appears to have done in *Locrine*, in a holiday waywardness in the change from one scheme to another.

As for *Mustapha* and *Alaham*, W. M. Croll applied to them the same verse tests used for the Sonnets which were called *Caelica*.[10] Although there were one hundred and nine, only forty-one of the poems, as Professor Geoffrey Bullough said,[11] "are true sonnets; 35 are in six-line stanzas (ababcc); 17 are in quatrains or in quatrains used with couplets; among the rest we find specimens of *ottava rima*, four-foot trochais, rhymed sapphics, and other forms which bear witness to the experimental nature of Greville's muse. The sonnets are all Shakespearian in type; occasionally he modifies the true form by cutting out a quatrain or by adding one, two or more quatrains as his thought demands; occasionally he intermingles quatrains with six-line stanzas." In the light of this verification of the Sonnets, Croll admirably analysed *Mustapha* and *Alaham* which, he believed, shared with Daniel's *Philotas* characteristics not found in the other plays of the Senecan group.[12] Professor Bullough approvingly quotes from Croll's thesis the following passage: "Lines rhymed alternately, lines rhyming in couplets and unrhymed lines are mixed together in such a way that none of these becomes the fixed form of a passage. Often the alternate rhyme and the rhyme in couplets are arranged so as to suggest, without perfectly conforming to, the familiar six-line stanza, or sometimes a succession of such stanzas. Daniel is particularly fond of this arrangement, and in fact, has scenes which are almost regular in the six-line stanza; while Greville often is fairly regular in the alternation of a couplet and a single unrhymed line, thus: aabccdeef, etc..... Greville occasionally introduced an elaborate metrical device in *Mustapha*, as in 2. 3., where twelve lines are rhymed on two sounds. Stychomythy is always in rhyme. It should be added that Daniel is more regular than Greville and practises the mixture of the two forms in the same

passage; but the ruling idea seems to be the same in both poets, namely to relieve the monotony of rhyme both by avoiding regularity of arrangement and by interspersing unrhymed lines... The second departure of these plays from the rest of the later Senecan group is in the use of simple stanza-forms, especially the six-line stanza, for the Choruses[13]." Croll refers to Daniel's *Defence of Rhyme* (1603) where Daniel called "those continuall cadences of couplets used in long and continued poems.....very tiresome, and unpleasing" and, therefore, said that "to avoid this overglutting the ear with that always certaine, and full incounter of Rhyme I have assaide in some of my Epistles to alter the usual place of meeting, and to set it further off by one verse..... but as yet I cannot come to please myself herein ; this alternate or crosse Ryme, holding still the best place in my affection." Daniel's *Cleopatra* is, as Mr. Kennneth Muir said, "mainly in quatrains.[14]" These quatrains often resolve themselves into Shakespearean sonnets. Professor Bullough[15] supports Charlton's[16] view that the blank verse was introduced in *Philotas* after its being revised when Daniel was converted by Campion to a belief in the value of blank verse in tragedy—'saving in the Chorus or where a sentence shall require a couplet.[17]" Referring to Kyd's *Cornelia*, Professor Bullough pointed out that Kyd introduced couplets and quatrains in Act I and Act II respectively[18]. Stychomytny, said Professor Bullough, was "usually, but not always in rhyme. Although blocks of blank verse preponderate, we find many runs of rhyme : e. g. 3· 3·"

The extraordinary form of *Locrine* would seem to carry its reader into this rarefied atmosphere, farther back than Shakespeare, when the Elizabethans were not quite convinced about the use of blank verse ; when they were still wavering in spite of the use of blank verse having become popular through *Gorboduc* and the Countess of Pembroke's *Antonie*. In the latter, rhymed lines were still used in stychomythy, at the end of scenes, and occasionally in 'sentences'. In *Locrine* Swinburne attempts at a dramatization of one of what he calls, in the dedicatory stanzas prefixed to the piece, "these wan legends" of Geoffrey of Monmouth's mythical Briton. Perhaps he thought that the subtleties of the rhymes were adapted to the re-telling of the ancient legend of Sabrina whom Milton had already immortalized in *Comus*. Swinburne refers to Milton : "No part have these was lengends in the sun whose glory lightens Greece and gleams on Rome . ... Yet Milton's sacred feet have lingered[18a] there,——"

If Swinburne had been primarily interested in drama, he would have seen a warning in *Mustapha*, *Alaham*, and *Selimus* in which, as Mr. Kenneth Muir put it, "the rhymed scenes are totally lacking in dramatic power."[19] Swinburne would seem to be concerned essentially with poetry and ideas. There is a tremendous amount of these in *Locrine*. However that may be, the form of *Locrine* calls for some consideration

Form.

Swinburne himself calls *Locrine* "a ninefold garland wrought of song-flowers nine[20]." The first scene of the first act is written in couplets. The rhymes of the second scene of the first act are supposed to be strung together on the plan of Petrarchan sonnets. The first scene of the second act is written, without actually conforming to, in a nine-line stanza rhyming aabaabbab; the second scene of the second act would seem to be in *ottava rima* familiarized by the use of it in Byron's *Don Juan*, or the eight-line stanza in Keat's *Isabella*. The first scene of the third act is in an elaborate, but not quite regular, interlacing of rhymes each occurring four times, (aa) b (a) bbcbccde; it tends to have the same metre of Swinburne's *Laus veneris*, but each third line giving the principal rhymed for the following stanza after the fashion of *terza rima*. Swinburne would have himself called it *quarta rima*. The second scene of the third act approximates to Chaucerian sevenline stanza. The first scene of the fourth act is divisible into quatrains of alternate rhyme with concluding couplets, coming nearer, without actually doing so, the stanza of *Venus and Adonis*. The second scene of the fourth act is mainly in *terza rima* proper. The first scene of the fifth act is moulded after the manner of Shakespearian sonnet, but without actually being organized in this manner. The second scene of the fifth act is in couplets like the first scene of the first act.

One cannot but appreciate Swinburne's experiment in drama with forms usually associated with lyrics. Perhaps there are enormous possibilities to be explored in this direction. Of course this is not to defend stanzaic structure against a free rhythm. Nor need one re-open the debate over the merits of a free rhythm and stanzaic form. The point is that if a definite pattern is to be chosen, then that pattern must, with a latitude that is tolerable only when it is *occasional* be preserved. If lyric forms are to be used as the main texture of drama, is

it not necessary that the unity of those forms must be substituted for the unity that governs all the elasticity of the blank verse line ? The base of regular lyric forms is the stanza just as the base of heroic unrhymed verse is the line. (Of course paragraphic values in the event of the line being the base must be fully considered). It would seem to be obvious that it is impossible for dramatic speech to disturb the unity of a stanza more than momentarily,or than is desirable as fitting variety. The stanza in poetry has a unity of its own. For the sake of variety within the general uniformity of design, a poet could treat it with a little amount of flexibility. But he could not ignore it altogether For example, he might use an eight-line stanza in such a way that at intervals the units will not be eight and eight, but nine and seven. This licence within law cannot, without disaster, become lawlessness. One might illustrate it by a few examples from this performance. As has already been pointed out in this study, the second scene of the first act is supposed to be in Petrarchan sonnets. Here is an example of such a sonnet being cut into scraps of a dialogue and ending in the middle of a sentence :

Debon : "Hast thou not heard, king, that a true man's trust
Is king for him of life and death ? Locrine
Hath sealed with trust my lips-nay,prince, not mine
His are they now."

Comber : "Thou art wise as he, and just,
And secret. Got requite thee ! yea, he must,
For man shall never. If my sword here shine
Sunward-God guard that reverend head of thine !"

Debon : "My blood should make thy sword the sooner rust,
And rot thy fame for ever. Strike."

Camber : "Thou knowest
I will not. Am I Scythian born, or Greek,
That I should take thy bloodshed on my head ?"

Debon : 'Nay—if thou seest me soul to soul and showest
Mercy—"

Camber : "Thou think'st I would have slain thee ? Speak "

Debon : "Nay, then I will, for love of this land..."

[Act II, Scene II]

Would Petrarch not shudder at the sight of such an experiment running

riot ? This is typical of the licence freely indulged in the play. One would not expect Swinburne to measure every speech to one or more complete stanzas. But one does surely expect him to keep the pattern of the stanza easily discoverable to the ear if not to the eye. From his experiment in *Locrine* Swinburne might have been able to see that the simpler the stanzaic structure the easier will be his task because of the greater freedom resulting from this, whilst his observing this necessary condition : For example, the simple device of rhymed couplet, the allocation of consecutive lines, or even half-lines, to different characters can be admirably effective. Three passages may be quoted here from Act I, Scene I, Act II, Scene I, and Act V, Scene II respectively.

Locrine: "What bide thee then revile me, knowing no cause ?"

Guendolen : "Strong sorrow knows but sorrow's lawless laws."

Locrine : "Yet these should turn not grief to raging fire.

Guendolen : "They should, had my heart my heart's desire."

Locrine : "Would God that love, my queen, could give thee this "

Guendolen : "Thou does not call me wife-not call'st amiss."

Locrine : "What name should serve to stay this fitful strife ?"

Guendolen : 'Thou does not ill to call me not thy wife."

Locrine : "My sister well nigh wast thou once :and now—."

Guendolan : "Thy sister never I: my brother thou."

Locrine : "How shall man sound this riddle ? Read it me."

Guendolen : "As loves a sister, never loved thee."

And so on. This reminds one of stychomythy in *Mustapha*, *Antonie*, and some parts of Kyd's *Cornelia*.

The first scene of the second act—although tending towards an elaborate form of a nine-line stanza—offers an example of rhymed couplets allocated to different characters. Here is the scene between Sabrina and Estrild :

Estrild: "...and with thee
His mood that plays is blither than a boy's."

Sabrina : "I would the boys would give the maid her will."

Estrild : "Has not thine heart as mine has here its fill ?"

Sabrina : "So have our hearts while sleeping-till they wake."

Estrild : "Too soon is this for waking : sleep thou still."

Sabrina : "Bid then the dawn sleep, and world lie chill."

Estrild : "This nest is warm for one more wood-dove's sake."

Sabrina : "And warm the world that feels the sundawn break."

Estrild : "But hath my fledgling cushat here slept ill ?"

Sabrina : "No plaint is this, but pleading that I make."

Here is the third passage from Act V, Scene 2: Locrine enters the scene (which is The Banks of the Severn) wounded and desires Estrild and Sabrina to "fly":

Sabrina : "How can we fly, father ?"

Estrild : "She would not fear—
Thy very child is she—no heart less high
Than thine sustains her—and we will not fly."

Locrine : "So shall their work be perfect. Yea, I know
Our fate is fallen upon is, and its woe.
Yet have we lacked not gladness- and this end
Is not so hard. We have had sweet life to friend,
And find not death our enemy. All men born
Die, and but few find evening one with morn
As I do, seeing the sun of all my life
Lighten my death in sight of child and wife.
I would not live again to loss that kiss,
And die some death not half so sweet as this."

Arthur Symons compared the form of *Locrine* with that of *Atalanta* ; he would seem to be excited enough "to wish that Swinburne had written all his plays in rhyme[21]. It is difficult to share his enthusiasm about this metrical *tour de force.* One might agree with him when he compares the rhymed couplets of *Locrine* with those used by Gilbert Murray in his translations of *Euripides.*

Between the extremely complex stanzaic structure of the second scene of the first act, of the second scene of the third act, and of the

first scene of the fifth act, on one side, and the simple structure of rhymed couplets of the first scene of the first act and of the second scene the fifth act, on the other, Swinburne would seem to be following a middle course in the first and second scenes of the fourth act. But, on the whole, any dramatic qualities that may be inherent in the Locrine myth-qualities which even the unknown playwright of *Locrine* (1595) does not seem to have failed to notice altogether—are subdued almost to complete ineffectiveness "for the sake of dizzying exhibition of metrical tight-rope walking[22]."

One could not perhaps assert that Swinburne's *Locrine* has any technical form at all. The parts would seem to be arbitrarily planned, having no relation with each other. One wonders what special fitness is there in the sonnet for the scenes in which it is used as distinct from any other scene. Not only does the value of the whole seem less than the value of any parts. In fact, the parts do not appear to combine into a whole. The difficulty of the reader is not only the mechanical one of having to read stanzas printed without their normal divisions, but also of having to sacrifice the stanzaic form to the exigencies of dramatic dialogue. One would like to watch instinctively the development of the stanza. Since there is no such development, one is just confused Stanza and line are broken at all points by the sequence of speeches and the dramatic opposition of ideas. Does it not amount to having all the artifice and *labour* of regularity in rhyme-scheme without any aesthetic value ?

Is not *Locrine* an instance of Swinburne's misjudgement in craftsmanship ? Professor Chew admirably sums up the matter thus : "Swinburne is for once unable to bend the measures to his own devices. If the reader takes pains to note the prosodic schemes he finds it impossible to follow the sense of the dialogue. If he reads with his mind upon the speaker distinctively meaning he loses all sense of the metrical forms. The attempt to attend to form and substance at the same time results in hopeless confusion[23]." Swinburne's claim that *Locrine* was "a ninefold garland wrought out of song-flowers nine" does not stand. The whole metrical scheme is no more than an arbitrary design drawn over the substance of the ordinary decasyllabic verse of this work. One wonders whether Swinburne felt that his style of verification,in his other dramatic works, was too personal for drama and therefore, he was experimenting in this curious form

of *Locrine*. The most surprising thing about *Locrine* would seem to be that the digressive muse of Swinburne could not be fettered by this deliberately complicated method of versification. It is as uncontrolled as ever so that the excellence of dramatic form remains unattainable here.

Another Problem in Relation to the Elizabethans.

Swinburne appears to believe that in the medium of poetry lies the key to the restoration of dramatic art. His efforts seem to be centred merely round the reproduction of the poetry and diction of the Elizabethans. He does not respond to the element of problem drama already present in the works of Elizabethan dramatists. He should have known that almost all Elizabethan plays, whether their scene was set in the past or in the present, in Illyria or England, were designed to offer a common on the problems of the immediate present. He was a great admirer of Shakespeare. But he would not notice how Shakespeare wove into the texture of his plays topical allusions and ideas that were in the air, not to please the groundlings or flatter his sovereign, but to infuse his plays with the spirit of his age and, thus, to suggest their abiding significance[24]. One wishes that Swinburne had seen that Shakespeare found it necessary to fit in history with the current problems. No one need lament Shakespeare's anachronisms which were deliberate, and calculated to throw light on his own time[25]. Did Shakespeare not use history to express the orthodox view about civil war and rebellion to an audience afraid of a Spanish invasion, and of a repetition of the civil and religious strife of the previous resigns ? This element of problem drama would seem to be present even in the works that were not written for the popular stage-plays like Daniel's *philotas*. Greville's *Mustapha* and *Alaham*. It is present in one of the earliest of English tragedies, *Gorboduc*. It is not possible here to go into the details of this contemporary relevance of Elizabethan drama. One could, however, elucidate this point by illustrations from the works mentioned under 'Sources' of this study, in connection with Swinburne's *Locrine*. In *Gorboduc* the key-problem seems to be to persuade Elizabeth to settle the succession before her death, and so avert the danger of civil war[26]. About his unactable *Philotas* Daniel got into trouble with the authorities because it was thought to be a thinly disguised account of the Essex rebellion. Greville had to destroy his

Antonic and Cleopatra because the topical allusions to this Elizabeth-Essex affair in this work became too obvious. Afraid of getting into trouble, he, to use his own words—thought it wise "to be carefull [in his own case] of leaving fair weather behind him[27]".

The Tragedy of Locrine (?1595) would seem, among other things, to bring home to the Elizabethan audience the significance of a legendary past by relating it to the immediate present. Corineus's reply to Humber's son, who says to the former that he is "his sonne that slew young Albanact,/...(that he would) send [Corineus's] soule vnto the Stigian lake/ There to complaine of Humber's injuries"—is significant for the Elizabethan audience that was thrilled with the sense of patriotism :

Corineus "You triumph sir before the Victorie,
For Corineus is not so soone slaine.
But cursed Scithians you shall rue the day
That ere you came into Albania.
So perish that enuie Brittaines wealth,
So let them die with endlesse infamie,
As he that seekes his Soueraignes ouerthrow,
Would this my club might aggrauate his woe."
(Lines 1287-1294)

Have these lines, given to Corineus here, not the same contemporary relevance as the following lines from Shakespeare's *King John* ?

"Come the three corners of the world in arms
And we shall shock them. Nought shall make us rue
If England to herself do rest true "
(Act V, Scene VII).

Here is another passage from this anonymous play The significance of this passage lies in that Humber, the enemy of 'Albania' is made to praise Albanact in the same spirit as the Persian Elders are made to sing the praises of the Greeks in their conversation with Atossa :

Humber : "How brauely this young Brittain Albanact
Dareth abroad thunderbolts of warre,
Beating downe millions with his furious mood ;
And in his glorie triumphs ouer all,
Moving the massie squadrants of the ground ;

Heaps hills on hills, to scale the starrie skie,
When Briarous armed with an hundreth hands
Floong forth an hundreth mountains at great *loue*
And when the monstrous giant Monichus
Hurld mount Olimpus at great Mars his turget,
And shot huge caedars at Mineruas shield."

(*The Tragedy of Locrine*, lines 803—813)

The unknown author of *The Tragedy of Locrine* fires the imagination of his reader with the spirit of enthusiasm which was to be a much desired quality in the times of the French wars and the Armada. The last five lines of this passage are to be found in *Selimus* which is an oriental story subdued to the contemporary problem like *Mustapha*. As for *Mustapha*, and *Alaham*, Greville himself said that he made "these Tragedies, no place for the Stage[27a] ", but ordered their "matter and forms together for the use of life[28].". He thought he was departing from the traditional methods of the ancients and moderns in tracing "out the high waies of ambitious Governours [and in showing] in practice, that the audacity advantage[29], and good successe sovereignties have the more they hasten to their own desolation and ruine". In *Mustapha* and *Alaham*, Greville seems to depict the evils of government under a "strong Tyrant" and a "Weak Tyrant" respectively. In both plays one can find topical allusions to the Elizabeth-Essex affair. Greville dwells on the limits of loyalty and the subject's right of rebellion against a tyrant in *Mustapha;* in *Alaham* he would seem to suggest the course of action he would like Essex to take. Ultimately he rejects rebellion which, he thought, would destroy the tyrant and the state ; and rounds it off in the following words of *Mustapha* :

"Is it in us to rule a Sultan's will ?"

Priest : "We made them first for good and not for evil."

Mustapha : "Our Gods they are, their God remained above.
To think against annoynted power is death."

Greville's conclusion here comes pat to the orthodox view of his times about civil war and rebellion. It is the same as one can find in Shakespeare's Histories. The following verses from *Mustapha* are in consonance with the orthodox protestant doctrine in the Elizabethan period :

"States trespasse indeede thoughe princes swerve.
Kings are the roddes or blessings of the skye,;
God onlye judge ; he knows what they deserve :"

From these examples it would be clear that these Elizabethan authors,

whatever their worth as dramatists, cannot get away from the element of problem drama. They relate the themes of their plays to the particular audience. Swinburne had these works in mind when he wrote *Locrine*. He failed to realize this important aspect of Elizabethan drama. In his *Locrine* one receives a very valuable stimulus to the study of some of these Elizabethan plays with which *Locrine* is, in some way or other, associated. It is obvious that he brings to bear upon *Locrine* the treasures of an abundant imagination ; he also turns to his own account his great lyrical powers. But, since there is no contemporary relevance in *Locrine*, it is stillborn. Was not that the trouble with almost all the poets who wrote dramas in the nineteenth century ? What, for example, is the relevance of *The Rorderers*, *Remorse*, *Manfred* and *Cain* to the age in which they were produced ? *The Cenci*, as E. S Bates pointed out, is full of Elizabethan influence.[30] But it has no contemporary relevance. If there is any problem in these works, it is personal. What contemporary relevance is there in *Tennyson's Queen Marv*? Do not Keats's *Otho the Great*'[31] and Browning's *Strafford* deal with a dead issue ? From the point of view of contemporary relevance Swinburne's *Locrine*—although well-plotted and with some consistent characters—also deals with a dead issue. This is perhaps one of the main reasons of its failure.

Moreover, there is another important point to be noted about Swinburne's relation to Fulke Greville. Of course, Swinburne could not agree with what Professor Geoffrey Bullough called 'Greville's cosmic obsession', his determination to relate all earthly errors to flaws in human nature which must themselves be placed against the background of eternity.[32] Greville wove this metaphysical outlook into the texture of his two political dramas and seemed to conclude that politics shares with all other human activities the effects of man's fall. That is perhaps the reason why Swinburne called Greville's dramas "the toughest of dramatic indigestibles.[33]" But, when he protested that *Locrine* was "not given to mysticism,"[34] one suspects that he was preoccupied with Greville's dramas. Greville's method seems to have appealed to something fundamental in Swinburne Like Greville he wrote for a mental theatre. Greville "ended by transcending drama altogether."[35] An examination of the different versions of *Mustapha* will show that Greville passed from the mass of rhetorical crudities of the first version to the quasi-prosaic discourse of the last two versions. Swinburne would seem to be doing something similar in *Locrine*. He transcends drama only to throw out his poetry. It is not perhaps fanciful to equate the Chorus—Dialogue between the Soul and Death in the Cambridge

version of *Mustapha* with Sabrina's remarks on death in Locrine (Act IV, I). In *Mustapha* the soul urges man to accept death willingly : Death urges him not to fear, thus :

Soul : "When will this liues sparke putt in our spiritte
to giue light to the Lampe of flesh and bloode
Leave to denye stronge destiny her rights
which it feeles daylye cannot bee with stoode
Man looke not downe. Look up into the skye
there live you muste, and maye bee gladde to dye"

Death : "bee not bewitcht as thoughts in error bee.
I am noe tyrante. I am natures childe,
Lyfe needed not feare that honest come to mee.
my terrors are to life that is defiled----."

This Chorus in *Mustapha* suggests that in the wicked state of the world, death is a happy release for good from the world where man is involved in a chaos of conflicting passions. In Swinburne's *Locrine* these ideas seem to be worked out against a different background and without any metaphysical implications. Here is what Sabrina has to say about death :

Sabrina : "Die ? is death no less an ill than dread ?
I had liefer die than be nor quick nor dead.
I think there is no death but fear of death.

Locrine : "Of death or life or anything but love
What knowest thou ?"

Sabrina : "Less than those, my mother saith——
Less than the flowers that seeing all heaven above
Fade and wax hoar or darken, lose their trust
Leave their joy and let their glories rust
And die for fear ere winter wound them : we
Live no less glad of snowtime than of spring :
It cannot change my fathers face for me
Nor turn from mine away my mother's
(Act IV, Scene I)

In act V, Scene II, Sabrina asks Estrild :
"What is death ? I never saw his face
That I should fear it."

Estrild : "Whether grief or grace
Or curse or blessing breaths from it, and give
Aught worse or better than life we live,

I know no more than thou knowest ; perchance
Less. When we sleep, they say, or fall in trance,
We die awhile. Well spake thine innocent
breath——
I THINK THERE IS NO DEATH BUT FEAR
OF DEATH."

Sabrina : "Did I say this ?...
Hard by
Men fight even now—hey strike and kill and die
Red-handed ;
.....can it be
That no soul of all these brave men fears
Should sound so fearful in foolish ears ?"

One could not perhaps be sure of the dramatic relevance of these digressions. It looks as if the author of *Hymn* to *Prosepine* and *The Garden of Proserpine* were entering into a debate with Greville over the problem of death and, from the point of view of drama, going off at a tagent. The last two lines which follow this passage would seem to point to this being just a gratuitous digression :

Sabrina : "But all this while I know not where it lay,
Thy father's kingdom".

This is the main point in the conversation between Sabrina and Estrild. If one must have drama, should one not expect Swinburne to be direct, brief, and to the point ?

In the Chorus Sacerdotum, Greville points to man's fundamental dilemma of being torn in between laws natural and divine :

"Oh wearisome Condition of Humanity !
Borne under one law, to another bound:
Vainely begot, and yet forbidden vanity,
Created sicks and commanded to be sound :
What meaneth Nature by these diverse Lawes ?
Passion and Reason, selfe-division cause :"

Professor Ellis-Fermor does not explain how Greville outgrew what she called "Saturnine, Senecan bitterness[37]" of these lines. In fact, this is no more than the conflict between the ideal and the actual, between God and the world—this conflict was characteristic of most Elizabethan poets and moralists. In the Choruses of *Alaham*, Greville would seem to solve his own problem. Although Alaham and Hala defeat themselves the

final triumph is with the virtuous dead. Everything is for the best in the light of eternity, because Greville believes in God. Swinburne remembers this conflict between the ideal and the real expressed in the Chorus Sacerdotum of *Mustapha*. He would not enter into the mystical realms of Greville. But he represents this conflict in Locrine who is torn between his ideal world of Sabrina and Estrild where he feels he is "Locrine", and the real world "of swords and words" of his actual storm-tossed life of a king. In reply to Sabrina's question whether Locrine's "kingship" made him "less in height of heart than Sabrina and Estrild", Locrine says :

> "Here sits my heart at height of hers and thine,
> Laughing for love : here not the quiring birds
> Sing higher than sings my spirit: I am here Locrine,
> Whom no sound vexes here.....
> Crowned but as lord and sire of child and wife,
> Throned but as prince of woodland, bank and bower,
> My joys were then imperial, and my state
> Firm as star, that now is as flower."
>
> (Act IV, Scene I)

Earlier in this Scene when Estrild tells him that she is afraid of nothing but "change", Locrine says :

> "Fear thou not that : for nothing born eludes
> Time ; and the joy were sorrowful and strange
> That should endure for ever. Yea, I think
> Such joy would pray for sorrow's cup to drink,
> Such constancy desire an end, for mere
> Long weariness of watching. Thou and I
> Have all our will of life and loving here,—
> A heavenlier heaven on earth : but we shall die,
> And if died not, love we might outlive
> As now shall love outlive us."

Does not Swinburne seem to be just bandying words with Greville over the questions of death and immortality? Is not *Locrine* a drama of ideas after the manner of Fulke Greville ? Of course Swinburne believes in mortality while Greville looks at the problem in the light of faith and eternity.

Characterization.

Whether authors should start from character or plot is a traditional question. Swinburne admirably starts with a marvellous story.

But he soon gets involved in ideas, and his characters, become puppets answering his string-pulling. The characters in *Locrine* would seem to evolve through ideas and not through action. However, Guendolen seems to be admirably consistent. She is, as Swinburne put it, "gloomy and fiery[39]."

She is introduced in the first scene of the first act with her "bitter speech than sea."[39] "A grievious love and loving grief[40]" is her complaint against Locrine whose "heart has dwelt far off from [her] all these years[41]." Although she snubs "the envious princelet.[42]" Camber, who would turn her grief to his own use, she is (in act IV, 2) ready to "reap/The harvest loved of all men, last as first—/Vengeance." When Madan advises her to take things easy in so far as she not been "discrowned, dethroned, disrobed, unclad/ Of empire ?" What she says to him shows her bitter feelings :

"And thou ? no she-wolf whelps upon the wold
Whose brood is like thy mother's."

Madan cannot help being persuaded by her against his father and he promises her :

"..... and thou shall see
Vengeance "

Locrine says to her :

"Thy voice is as the sound of dead love's knell.

.....

Is thy lot

Less fair and royal, girt with power and crowned,
Than might fulfil the loftiest heart's desire ?"

Guendolen : "Not air but fire it is that rings me round—
Thy voice makes all my brain a wheel of fire."

...

Thou knowest ? but this thou knowest not, king,
How near of kin are bitter love and hate—
Nor which of these may the deadlier thing.

...

Dost thou know ?

...

How he whose wrath was rained as hail or snow
On Troy's adulterous towers,...
All-righteous God,...

——loves or hates
Treason ?
...What art thou
To make thy will more strong and sure than fate's ?
Thy fate am I, that falls upon thee now.
Wilt thou not slay me yet—and slay thy son ?"
(Act IV, Scene I.)

Locrine: (Act V, Scene I) pleads with her :
"Blood by wrath unnatural shed
Or spent in civic battle burns the land
Whereon it falls like fire,..."

He, therefore, asks her to "Spare these people", or else here "will be the guilt." She flames out :

"Mine ? Hear it, heaven, and men bear witness !
Mine, mine the adulterous reason ?"

She is consistent and says : "God do right /Between us in the fiery courts of fight".

There would seem to be fine opportunities for tragic treatment in this subject of a revengeful wife whose love has turned into hate But Swinburne does not avail himself of these opportunities ; he has many other preoccupations than drama.

Locrine is admirably delineated he is harassed and worried at times by a false position in a double life, as Swinburne himself said about him. This make him too weak to fit in with the tougher side of life in the mythical 'Albania' of the Geoffery Monmouth. His past is known only by report. In this respect the unknown author of *The Tragedy of Locrine*—though he was a bungler—managed very well in that he placed the action of his play at the beginning of Locrine's career as a king. In the older Locrine one has many opportunities to see the brave Locrine, defeating Humber and defying Guendolen's relatives about his affairs with the 'Scythian' concubine. The boyist prowess of Madan is well delineated. But he seems to be more a child of the Locrine of mythical Britain than of Swinburne's Locrine !

One can understand that Swinburne throws his strength into the character of Sabrina. He gives her his finest poetry. Swinburne was attracted towards children during his last years at Putney. Many of these dream-children were born there. Sabrina belongs to the imagination of the poet rather than to the pattern of the play. How could a seven-year old child he expected to philosophise on death and finally

live up to it ? That Swinburne's sympathies for Sabrina were more than the pattern of the play permits would seem to be obvious. However, the most dramatic tension in Swinburne's Locrine arises when Sabrina, confronted by Guendolen and Madan leaps into the river :

Guendolen : "Shame
Consume thee !— Thou—what call they, girl, thy name ?
Daughter of Estrild,—daughter of Locrine,—
Daughter of death and darkness !"

Sabrina : "Yet not thine.
...
Ere thine hand
Can put forth power to slay me where I stand
Safe shall I sleep as these that here lie slain "

Guendolen : "She dares not—though the heart in her be fain,
The flesh draws back for fear. She dares not."

Sabrina : "See !
I change no more of warring words with thee.
O father, O my mother, here am I ;
They hurt me not who can but bid me die."
(She leaps into the river).
(Act V, Scene II).

Locrine **on the Stage.**

Arthur Symons[43] and Edmund Gosse[44] wrote that *Locrine* was acted and found interesting. The latter said that it was found "arresting" by a literary auidence. From what actually happened when *Locrine* was produced on the boards it would seem to be obvious that both of these writers did not see the performance. At any rate, they say nothing about the place where it was acted or the reactions of the audience towards it The sensitive reviewer in the *Academy* (March 25, 1893 [45] who saw the performance of *Locrine* at the St. George's Hall placed on record how the play went. He appreciated Miss Lilian McCarthy's rendering of Guendolen's part and called it "careful, vigorous and talented." At the same time he complained of her having 'stagified" the text so that it was apparent that "the performance overwhelmed the play." He said that he looked with "amazement" at "these Elizabethan folk" who "had decided by some esoteric feat of exquisite selection that (Locrine) should be played to them. He wrote humorously :" An Elizabethan draught raked the stalls... In my book I found

fine lines ; from the stage there came only sound and fury and tiny rattle of accoutrements. Words were inaudible, or reached me only as stagy gabble. On and on went this contradiction, this queer parallel between a living poem under my eye and an irrelevant spectacle on a level with it. But the playing should not be more dramatic than the play... For here, as everywhere, the play is the thing ; and if the play be no play, but a psychological dramatic poem, discursive, leisured, and as full of the poet's own by-play as of the essential story, why, then simple elocution is the one thing needed. Every word, every rhyme, every rhytmic device, every nuance of feeling and expression should be conveyed to the ear. Shouting and gestures and stage tricks can do nothing to secure this." He said, further, "not a few people left the hall and the longest haired Elizabethan present bolted after the second act." This review brings one to the most essential point about *Locrine*. That is, its poetry. Here are Estrild and Sabrina talking it :

Estrild : "Dost thou understand,
Child, what the birds are singing ?"

Sabrina : "All the land
Knows that : the water tells it to the rushes
Aloud, and lower and softlier to the sand :
The flower-fays, lip to lip, and hand in hand,
Laugh and repeat it all till darkness hushes
Their singing with a word that falls and crashes
All Song to silence down the river-strand
And where the hawthorns hearken for the thrushes,
And all the secret sense in sweet and wise
That sings through all their singing, and replies
When we would know if heaven be gay or grey
And would not open all too soon our eyes
To look perchance on no such happy skies
And sleep brings close and waking blows away.
(Act II, Scene I).

Looking at her slain husband and his dead concubine, Guendolen, says :

"The gods are wise who lead us—now to smite,
And now to spare : We dwell hut in their sight
And work but what their will is. What hath been
Is past. But these, that once were king and queen,
The sun, that feeds on death, shall not consume
Naked. Not I would sunder tomb from tomb

Of these twain foes of mine, in death made-one—
I was not. She was fair as heaven in spring
Whom thou didst love indeed. Sleep, Queen and King,
Forgiven ; and if - God knows - being dead, ye live,
And keep remembrance yet of me—forgive."

The whole horror of this performance would seem to dwindle away in this poetic close.

Song.

There is something to be said about the song sung by Estrild in *Locrine* (Act II, Scene I). Sabrina asks Estrild to sing to her "the song that ripples round and round "

Estrild :
(sings)

"Had I wist, quoth spring to the swallow
The earth could forget me, kissed
By summer, and lured to follow
Down ways that I know not, I :
My heart should have waxed not high :
Mid March would have seen me die,
Had I wist.
Had I wist, O spring, said the swallow,
That hope was a sunlit mist
And the faint light heart of it hollow,
Thy words had not heard me sing,
Thy winds had not known my wing ;
It had faltered ere thine did, spring,
Had I wist."

It goes without saying that Swinburne knows how to crystallize the very essence of the situation into a song. In many of the nineteenth century dramas songs can be eliminated without the slightest damage to the whole. Shelley's characters, for example, burst into song at the slightest provocation. In *Rosicrucian*, the stranger inquired : "Can Ma'm'selle sing ?" Eloise replied that she could. And there follows the song. There is a beautiful song in Coleridge's *Zapholia* ("A sunny shaft did I behold", etc.) but it cannot help this work very much. It is just like a loose ornament. In Dryden, as W. H. Donner pointed out,[46] songs are also a loose ornament and can be easily cut out. But Swinburne's songs were always excellent and relevantly related to the Situation. One could apply this song in *Locrine* to Sabrina's pathetic end in the final scene of the tragedy.

NOTES

Locrine

1. *The Correspondence of Gerard Manley Hopkins and Richard Watson Dixon,* Edited with Notes and Introduction by Claude Colleer Abbott, 1935, pp. 156—7.
2. Swinburne, The *Dedicatory Epistle* to *The poems of Algernon Charles* Swinburne (in six volumes), Vol. 1, p. xxvi.
3. Besides these three works, there are, as will be clear from this study, many others in rhymes and stanzaic form.
4. *Letters of Algernon Charles Swinburne* (1918), London : William Heinemann, Vol. II, p. 254.
5. Selimus was ascribed sometimes to Thomas Goffe who could not have written it because he was an infant in 1594 when the play was known to have been in existence. Crawford thought that the author of the play was Marlowe. Gayley suggested that Lodge wrote it. Its curious form seems to be better explicable when one ascribes it to Greene's first period.
6. See *Who wrote Selimus ?* in *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and* Literary Society, Vol. VI (ii), Parts V-IX, p. 375. M. Kenneth Muir does not seem to consider what Greville says in his *Life of Sidney.* In the light of the two theses written by Mr J. F. Mac Vane of Exeter College, Oxford, and Miss E. Carrick of London University on Greville's life, it is difficult to think of the possibility of Greville's authorship of *Selimus.* Storojenke and Grosart's views about Selimus being by Greene have not been duly considered by Mr. Muir.
7. *The Life and Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Robert Greene,* M. A. (In Fifteen Volumes), edited by Rev. A. B. Grosart. See Vol. 1, Lxxi (Editor's Introduction). 1881-86.
8. *Life of Greene* by Professor Storojenko
9. *The Life and Complete works of Robert Greene* (in Fifteen Volumes) 1881-86, by Rev. A. B. Grosart, p. Lxxxii.
10. *The Works of Fulke Greville* (1903) Thesis by M. W. Croll
11. *Poems and Dramas of Fulke Greville,* edited with Introduction and Notes by Professor Geoffrey Bullough (2 vols.) Vol. 1, p. 34.
12. *Op. cit.*
13. *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 50

14. *Op.* cit., p. 375.
15. *Op.* cit., p. 51 (Vol. II)
16. See the essay by H. B. Charlton on the Senecan tradition in *Works of Sir Wm. Alexander*, Vol. I.
17. *The Defence of Rhyme* (1603) by Daniel. These are Deniel's own words.
18. *Op. cit.*, p. 51 (Vol. II)
18.a. Swinburne, *Dedication to Alice Swinburne.*
19. *Op. cit.*, p. 375
20. Swinburne, *Dedication to Alice Swinburne*
21. Arthur, Symons, *Figures of Several Centuries* (1916): see his *Swinburne.*
22. Professor Samuel C. Chew, *Swinburne* (1931), p. 220.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 221
24. For the contemporary relevance of *King Lear* and *Macbeth*, one could see Shakespeare and the Popular Tradition, by S. L. Bethell, p. 86 and p. 46 respectively.
See for *King Lear*, J. W. Draper, Studies in Philogy, 1937, pp. 178-85.
See Macbeth (1951), edited by Kenneth Muir, pp. xvi, ff.
See E. C. Pettet, Shakespeare Survey, 3, pp. 34 ff. E. C. Pettet has argued that Coriolanus contains Shakespeare's comment on the Midland insurrection of 1605. Mr. Kenneth Muir in his *The Dramatic Function of Anachronism* says that Shakespeare's company got into trouble by putting on a special performance of Richard II at the request of the Essex conspirators. The deposition Scene was omitted from the early quartos because of its supposedly dangerous thoughts.
D'Avenant's Abovine in his *Albovine* is often related to James I for his special treatment of Paradine. Some people believed that James I was a sodomite. It is not possible to go into the details of this subject of topical element in the Elizabethans.
25. Theobald (Preface, 1734, pp. XLix ff.) cogently arugued against Pope's theory that Shakespeare's anachronisms were to be attributed to his ignorance. "Such anachronisms" said Theobald, "were the Effect of poetic Licence."
26. Kenneth Muir, The Dramatic Function of Anachronism in Proceedings of the LEEDS Philosophical and Literary Society, Vol. VI (ii), Parts V-IX, p. 530.
27. Greville's *Life of Sidney*, p. 224.
28. Op. cit.
29. Ibid., p. 221.

30. A *Study of Shelley's Drama-The Cenci*, New York, (1908,pp. 52-56.
31. See *The Uncomic Pun* (by Kenneth Muir) in The Cambridge Journal, May, 1950.
32. Op. cit., p. 4 (Vol. II).
33. See note 4, Letters, Vol. II, p. 254.
34. Ibid., p. 254.
35. Professor Geoffrey Bullough, Poems and Dramas of Fulke Greville, Vol. II, p. 58.
36. These versions were four :
    i) A MS. in Trinity College, Cambridge (C text).
    ii) The Tragedy of Mustapha. London. Printed for Nathaniel Butter. 1609. Quarto. (Q text).
    iii) MS. versions (corrected) in volume D of the Warwick MSS. (W text).
    iv) Printed version in the 1633 Works (F text).
37. *The Jacobean Drama* by U. Ellis-Former, p. 199.
38. See note 4, Letters, Vol. II, p. 255.
39. *Locrine*. Act I, Scene I. These are Guendolen's words. She uses them to describe the indifferent attitude of her son. In fact, Swinburne alone could have used this figure of speech.
40 *Locrine*, Act I ; Scene I.
41. Ibid, Act I, Scene I.
42. Swinburne's words. See Letters, Vol II, p. 255.
43. Op. cit.
44. Edmund Gosse, C. B., The Life of Algernon Charles Swinburne (1917), p. 270.
45. The Academy, Vol. 57, p. 362, 1899. *Locrine* on the stage, March 25, 1899.
46. H. W. Donner, *Thomas Lovell Beddoes*: The Making of a poet. See in this study introduction entitled, Tragedy in the Early Nineteenth Century, p 5.

The World of Circe.

By

D. N. Kaul *(I.G.P.)*

THIS brief talk has a rather pompous heading: The World of Circe. Circe was a sorceress who inhabited an island in the Greek mythological epic *Odessey* by Homer. The sorceress rendered the people of the island sterile and apathetic and dragged them down to a degenerate state. The malevolent power of the Circe is attributed by Nirad C. Choudhari to the Indian Continent vis-a-vis its inhabitants. The Continent of Circe, which is Mr. Chaudhari's latest book, is a piece with his earlier Autobiography of an unknown Indian. In fact the latest book just elaborates the same thesis. The argument of the author—which is essentially an original, provocative and with some people a disturbing interpretation of the Indian History—is that the Indo-gangetic plain, its dusty vastness and tropical climate rendered the adventurous, brave and resourceful Aryans who came to this sub-continent in the 4th or 5th century B. C. into an apathetic degenerate people. The Europeans, Mr. Chaudhari argues, are of the same stock as the Hindus, or broadly speaking, the Indian people, except that the Indians have been rendered anaemic and lifeless by the climate and the dust of the Indo-gangetic plain which he calls the vampire of the Aryans. The author attributes the birth of the Indian Philosophy to the defeatist and hostile environment in which the immigrants found themselves in this country. To him this philosophy is just woolly speculation and essentially defeatist and introspective. Its other-worldliness is attributed by him to the uncongeniality, if not to the positive hostility of the land and its climate. Living in this alien atmosphere and environment, the immigrants gradually developed certain attitudes, which were aimed at defying the milieu and holding their own against territorial and climatic inhospitality. Thus, the whole gamut of ancient sanskritic erotic literature is, according to Mr. Chaudhari an apotheosis of this attitude of defiance in the face of alien surroundings. The immigrant—inhabitants of the sub-continent tried to drown the uncongenial milieu in an orgy of eroticism and indulgence in highly sexy and passionate life. Enormous quotations from the plays of Kalidasa and Baubhuti and passages of other writers are given to prove the thesis. The erotic carvings in temples, notably those at Khajureho are cited as another instance of the defence of the Indian

by leading a sexy life to act as an anodyne against a degenerating, stifling, tropical, dusty and hot environment. Speaking about the heat and dustiness of the plains of North India where the Aryans landed, Mr. Chaudhari speaks of the attitudes which developed to overcome and subdue this dust and heat ; one of these was the cult of nudity and mendicantism which sought to defy the dusty environment by besmearing the whole body with ash and dust and going about semi-nude. It was a kind of perverse complex which sought to conquer a repugnant and menacing situation by indulging it completely. Yet another cult began the cultivation of which Mr. Choudhari has sought to call the washo-mania—a mania for washing one's body and clothes several times a day. This mania, there is no doubt, is common in many a sect in India. This again is an obsession, according to Mr. Choudhari, developed out of a desire to ward off the dust and heat of the Indian Continent which are menacing and debilitating, a degenerating and a devitalising miasma.

This thesis, and the rich quotation ornamented argumentative style which sets it forth and sustains it throughout the book is no doubt, as mentioned earlier, in a way original, provocative and disturbing and last but not the least, frank and devastatingly cynical. Judged in the background of the present Indian attitude, which very often is self-righteous and what has come to be known as the "holier than thou" pose, this tearing of pet illusions and removal of wishfulfilling, smug and self-conscious beliefs will give a very much desired jolt to the Indian People. What we lack is self-criticism and what therefore is needed is the cynical-satirist whiplash. That apart, a discerning reader would however pause before accepting Mr. Choudhary's interpretation and ask him in an equally cynical tone : what about the Aryan's who went from Central Asia to the more mild and likeable climate of the West European countries with their lush greenery and dust-free hills and dales? What has man come to in these, countries in their mild climates and otherwise congenial geography ? One has only to turn to the new and yet vast number of writers of the west for an indictment of the Western man's present life and state. I am not referring here to classics like Spangler's "Decline of the West". People who have read Aldous Huxley's "Brave New World Revisited" must have realised how man can be a lost creature, a self-alienated individual in the midst of material comforts and congenial geographical environment. This is what Huxley has to say about the organised society from which he sought to escape into the meditative, comforting individualistic philosophy of India ;—"

"The completely organised society, the scientific caste-system, the abolition of freewill by methodical conditioning, the servitude made acceptable by regular doses of chemically induced happiness; the orthodoxies drummed in by nightly courses of sleep-teaching—these things were coming all right, but not in my time.....".

What does man in the West need, in the picturesque Huxleyan expression "the chemically induced happiness" for, if not to beat the all—pervading depression? Or take again the quest of an Arthur Koestler in his "Lotus and the Robot" for some solution to the alienation of the Western man from his milieu in some form of the Eastern approach, be it Indian or Japnese. While Indian or more particularly, the Hindu philosophy is described by Mr. Choudhari as wooly speculation, inspired by hostile geographical climate, how is existentialism to be explained? This latest postwar European philosophy with Jean Paul Sartre as its greatest living exponent is the philosophy of the Human Predicament. It refers, not to the alienation brought about by an uncongenial environment but to quote Sartre".....In reality we are cast into an alien world, for which we were not specially created, but within which we must sooner or later die. Our dread is the absurdity of this condition .....". Surely this is not the alienation of the Aryan in an inhospitable country, but the basic, fundamental, inherent alienation of Man all over. The ennui which Mr. Choudhari calls the "Hindu Acedia" is not characteristic of Indians only, it is a built-in trait of human nature and to conquer it man may resort to erotic emotionalism or to "Chemically induced Happiness" The acedia, or the enuii and depression are universal and that is why according to Andre Malrox, that great French writer and presently the Foreign Minister of France "All Art is a Rebellion against Fate". It would, therefore, not do to say that the pornographic iconography of the Khajuraho temples was a defiance of uncongenial geography. According to Albert Camus, modern man's greatest and the only pastimes are "fornication and newspaper reading". Does, this not indicate a dichotomy between man and his milien ?

I would, therefore, say "Mr. Chaudhari with due deference to your bold and brilliant interpretation of Indian History, your thesis does not convince; predicament of the Aryan in India, reflected according to you in the art and literature of the Hindus and in their other traits notably enuii or acedia, are not peculiarely Indian and are not traceable to the uncongenial Indo-gangetic Plain but are universal

and a built-in characteristic of the human situation as emphasised by Huxley, T. S. Eliot and the Existentialists. If Circe is haunting Man, her field of activity is not the Indian Continent only, it is the entire world.

On The Theory Of Poetic Belief And Poetic Appreciation

By

Prof. Vishnudeo Prasad

WE may not be philosophers, theologians, or metaphysicians, and still we may appreciate philosophical, religious or metaphysical poetry. Similarly, without being mystics, we may appreciate mystic poetry. In other words, we may appreciate the philosophical poetry of the *Divine Comedy* and of the *Bhagavad-Gita*, or the religious poetry of Herbert, Vaughan, and Crashaw, or the metaphysical poetry of Donne and of Dante, without sharing the beliefs of the poets concerned. In the same way, we may appreciate the mystic poetry of Blake, even though we ourselves may never have fallen under the spell of similar mystical illumination. And still more strangely, we may be roused to deep and full poetic appreciation of such poetry as has been woven out of the lukewarm beliefs of a poet, whereas our appreciation may be repelled by such poetry as has been founded on the rock of a poet's firm beliefs. So, it is not the stuff of a poet's beliefs that matters. What really matters is the stuff of poetry that embodies a poet's beliefs. In order that we may be able to appreciate the poetry of beliefs without sharing those beliefs. the poet concerned must have behind his beliefs the rich hinterland of a powerful emotional experience ; he must apprehend his beliefs sensuously and realize them in terms of imagination ; there must be a critical sifting of those beliefs by him in the midst of his creative intensity ; and at the same time he must be able to infuse verbal beauty and artistic organization into the pattern of his beliefs. Because it is only these, or some of these, powerful poetic elements that can keep the beliefs of a poet alive in the domain of poetry. Without these, or some of these, his beliefs are like dry bones ; these can never get resurrected into living poetry.

Because a poet's function is primarily to create poetry ; it is not his function to build for himself a world of belief or beliefs, nor is it his function to fortify himself with his belief or beliefs. And, therefore; the moment a poet seeks to build up in his poetry the grand edifice of his belief, philosophic or any

other, to the prejudice of his function as a poet, he finds himself, not in the fine edifice, but in the debris, of poetry. Even Dante, the great philosophical poet, did not write about philosophy to the prejudice of his function as a poet, Dante built up the magnificent structure of his supremely beautiful poem, the *Divine Comedy*, on the solid foundation of the massive Thomist philosophy of life, but even while doing so, he was occupied primarily with his poetic activity. His belief in that philosophy was subsidiary to his function as a poet. That is why we find Dante infusing into the philosophy of Aquinas his own emotional experience of love, his own personal spleen, and his own bitter regrets for the life's past happiness. And all these were matched by his sensuous apprehension of that philosophy, by his wealth of powerful visual imagination, and by a poet's unique vision of human suffering, of purgatorial pain and of paradisal bliss, and, above all, by a great artist's sense for organizing his stuff of experience into a fine pattern. Without the infusion of these poetic elements by the poet into the great poem, the whole of the Thomist philosophy of life as expressed in it, would not have won the appreciation of a reader of poetry. In the same way, Shakespeare's use of the muddled philosophy of life in his poetic dramas is not sustained by Shakespeare's belief in that philosophy, or by the inherent strength of that philosophy, but it is sustained and enlivened by the intensity and uniqueness of poetry with which Shakespeare informs it. Thus the philosophical poetry of Shakespeare wins our appreciation, even though we may not believe in that philosophy.

The very fact that Shakespeare's lines like :

As flies to wanton boys, are we to gods ;
They kill us for their sport.

are as great poetry as Dante's :

La sua voluntade nostra pace

even though the philosophy contained in the lines of Shakespeare's is inferior to that of Dante's, proves, beyond the shadow of any doubt, that the inferiority or superiority of a philosophy or the half-heartedness or intensity of a poet's belief in that philosophy, does not matter at all. What really matters is whether or not the fire of genuine poetry illuminates his philosophy ; because our appreciation of that philosophy will depend on the genuineness of the poetry behind it, and not on our belief in it. That is why when Browning abandons his true function of a poet, and allows

himself to be burdened by his sheer intellectual exuberance, the result, as regards his philosophical poetry, is disastrous. Whatever Browning may do, in *Rabbi Ben Ezra*, to dig his pet philosophy of life into our bones, we feel only repelled by it That is so because the philosophy of life, as presented to us in its raw form in the poem, has not been turned into fine poetry. The crudenesses of the poet's feeling, and of his language, and his utter incapacity to apprehend the philosophy sensuously, leave us completely unimpressed by his philosophy. In other words, we do not care either for his philosophy or for his philosophical poetry. And, similarly, Arnold's philosophy of culture and enlightenment hardly inspires us, because it is clothed in heavy and academic poetry. And as regards Shelley's idealistic philosophy of life, it so often turns merely into a burning coal of unrestrained inspiration and unrestrained emotionalism ; and soon enough it gets reduced to the embers of sheer poeticalities. Consequently, our poetic appreciation of his philosophical poetry becomes impossible.

The religious belief of a poet fares no better in the realm of poetry, if the poet concerned chooses merely to flaunt his belief, and does not care to nourish the roots of his belief with the manure of genuine poetry. Milton was full of ardent religious belief. He sought to raise a great monument to his religious belief in the shape of the great poetic works of *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*. But he did not quite succeed, as is obvious from the fact that the large regions of his Hell and Heaven are found to be only full of the reverberations of his magniloquent words. The sensuous poverty of his words, the impoverished world of emotions that his words betray, and the dearth of concretely realized experience that we discover behind the roll of his musical words, prevent us from sharing poetically the religious belief of Milton. But when Donne, a much smaller poet, gives us his small sonnet '*At the round earths imagined corners*', we get drenched to the bones with the poet's refreshing belief in the vision of the Resurrection of the Body. We may not believe in the fact of such a resurrection, but, without doubt, we believe in the truth of that poetry which has turned the vision of resurrection into a poetic fact. That is so because the whole poem is a burning example of a powerful poetic vision, which has been realized in terms of a powerful emotion and in terms of a concrete and powerful imagination, and which has been expressed with a sense of supreme restraint and with a supreme sense of art. Thus our poetic appreciation is full and deep, and we do not very much

care to look into our attitude to the question of the poet's belief in the Resurrection of the Body. We get overwhelmed by the irresistible force of his poetry, and the problem of the poet's belief and the related problem of our own acceptance or non-acceptance of that belief, do not interfere with our appreciation of that poetry in which the belief in the Resurrection of the Body so prominently figures. Similarly, in the poem *Affliction* by George Herbert, we are so thoroughly gripped by the deep affliction of the poet's writhing soul and by his transparent sincerity, that we do not care to notice the cleansing fire of Christian faith, in which the poet's soul has been enveloped and to which he has so fully surrendered But when D. G. Rossetti, in *The Blessed Damozel*, seeks to take us up his poetical ladder to Heaven, the visionary steps of that ladder appear to be collapsing under our feet. That is so because the poem has turned into a mere splash of fine colour and fine images, and is without the strength of fine poetry. And therefore the spell of his belief in the vision of Heaven does not bind us, whereas Dante's great poetry of the *Paradise* makes the blisses of paradise such a living and palpable reality for us that even agnostics among us begin to yearn for entering into the world of those blisses.

Likewise, when we enter into the moral world of *Macbeth* as created by Shakespeare. or that of *Volpone* as created by Ben Jonson, or that of *Oedipus* as created by Sophocles, or that of *The Changeling* as created by Middleton, we are filled with an overwhleming sense of intense moral realization. Whatever be the posture of our own personal moral beliefs, the great poetry of these great works of art has the effect of producing in us the ferment of an intense realization about the inexorable moral laws of life. Even if all our moral sense might have been deadened by modern materialism, the fire of the great poetry in these great poetic dramas has the effect of igniting in us a sense of moral awareness ; it has a cleansing effect on us ; it becomes a kind of purgatory for us. But in the hands of a poet like Gray or a poet like Arnold, a moral attitude turns into a moral pose, or into a poetic pose. That is so because their poetry is found slipping either into the mire of sentimentalism or into the mire of academic moralizings ; in a poet like Massinger we get bogged in conventional moralities ; in poets like Ford and Shirley, we get only moral platitudes. In other words, it is the failure, on

the part of these poets, to create powerful poetry out of their moral beliefs that constitutes the main reason why we feel so repelled by their moral attitudes. But poets like Shakespeare, Sophocles and others of their kind were, above everything else, great poets; and, therefore, their fine poetic grasp of the human impulses fused in a powerful way with their grasp of the permanent moral impulses of man, and the result was powerful poetry. Their remarkable sense of language further enriched their poetry.

And so also the poetry of metaphysical beliefs or mystical beliefs reinforces our conviction that the beliefs in themselves or by themselves are not material either to a poet or to a reader of poetry. Even the firmness or depth of these beliefs is not quite important. What is really material or important is what a poet does to transmute these beliefs into poetry, so that a reader may be able to appreciate these beliefs as poetry, even though he may not be sharing these beliefs with the poet. The roots of metaphysical beliefs were not as deep in Donne as they were in Dante. This becomes obvious from the fact that Dante was so deeply impressed by the metaphysical system of Thomas Aquinas that he incorporated the whole of this system into the pattern of his poetry of the *Divine Comedy*; whereas Donne seems to have merely picked up the broken fragments of different metaphysical systems and stuck them into his Love Poems or Divine Poems. And still Donne, almost like Dante, makes a profoundly poetic use of his metaphysical thoughts in his poetry. In the workshop of his unified sensibility, his metaphysical thoughts got fused into his feelings, and then they got soaked into the layers of his senses and also into the centre of his nervous system. And thus even his fragmentary metaphysical beliefs would suffer a sea-change and would emerge into the sunlight as fine poetry. Donne was not like Tennyson, who merely oscillated between his scientific and religious beliefs, and who failed to transmute his beliefs into poetry because of his incapacity to feel his thought 'as immediately as the odour of a rose', A thought would crystallize into an experience for Donne; it would modify his sensibility; but in the case of Tennyson, it would not do anything of the kind. Therefore, beneath all the trappings of poetry that Tennyson throws over his beliefs, we fail to discover the undertone of that personal emotion or that personal struggle, without which his beliefs fail to get transformed into genuine poetry. And so his poetic beliefs do not attract our appreciation. On the other hand, in the case of Donne, even though we sometimes

wonder whether he used his metaphysical beliefs simply for the sake of enriching the complex design of his poetry, we are almost driven into an appreciation of his metaphysical beliefs ; because Donne, who was primarily a poet and only secondarily a metaphysician, knew how to transform his beliefs into fine poetry. Even Dante who built up the pattern of the *Divine Comedy* round the metaphysical system of Aquinas, was not engaged primarily in expressing his metaphysical beliefs. What he was primarily engaged in was to find the emotional and sense equivalent for his beliefs, and he did succeed in doing it in a remarkable way. Sometimes, one almost gets this impression from him that even he was, perhaps, using his metaphysical beliefs merely as a vehicle for expressing his emotional experience of life, a point to which we have referred earlier also. Even a mystic poet like Blake did not give up his function of a poet, in the midst of his mystical illumination. In the midst of such an illumination, his capacity for understanding human nature remained undiminished, his sense of language remained as remarkable as ever and so also his vision of a poet remained quite undimmed. Consequently our appreciation of his poetry of mystical beliefs is full, even though we might never have experienced the flashes of mysticism in our own lives. And, similarly, Vaughan as a poet, through his fine spiritual and mystical illumination, seems to be removing the very bandage of worldliness from the eyes of even those who might have been blinded by it. We may not believe in the fact of such an illumination, but the powerful rays that radiate from his poetry, make us experience through our 'fleshly dress' 'bright shoots of everlastingness'. But when Blake gets into writing unsatisfactory poetry, his philosophy of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hall* does not touch even the fringe of our spiritual being. Similarly, when a poet like Wordsworth tries to burden his poetry of *Intimations of Immortality From Recollections of Early Childhood* with mystical philosophizing, without his being inspired with genuine poetic feeling, we are not quite appreciative of it.

Coleridge, when he remarked that a 'willing suspension of disbelief, accompained much poetry, he in his own way, was merely emphasizing the fact that an appreciation of the poet's belief by a reader was not an important condition for the appreciation of his poetry. So, in a poem like *The Rime of The Ancient Mariner*, Coleridge was not engaged in fostering in his reader a belief in supernaturalism. What he was really engaged in was the task of artistic and poetic creation, the one prime task upon which a genuine poet sets his heart ; and we as good readers of poetry share with him

the pleasure of this artistic and poetic creation, and are not troubled at all by the question of belief or disbelief in the world of his supernaturalism. And so it is obvious that a genuine poet does not enter into poetic activity, with a view to injecting into his readers his belief or beliefs. It is a different matter that his beliefs might enter into his poetry. But that is nothing. It is only when a poet's beliefs fuse with his 'initial emotional impulses' that these beliefs come to acquire their full poetic meaning or their full emotional significance, either for the poet or for the reader. In the case of all such poets as Dante, Shakespeare, Donne, Herbert, and such others, whose poetry we are able to appreciate, or whose poetry we, as good readers of poetry, should be able to appreciate, there has been such a fusion between their beliefs and their 'initial emotional impulses'. And so long as such a fusion takes place, it does not matter as to what beliefs get incorporated in their poetic worlds, nor does it matter whether we appreciate those beliefs or not. If we are able to share their 'emotional impulses', we can appreciate their poetry, even though we may not be sharing their beliefs. Because we go to poetry, not with a view to our being instructed in the nature of any kind of beliefs ; but we go to it for the 'strange consolation' that is offered to us by all good poetry. We go to it not for the pleasure of learning from it lessons of philosophy, or of metaphysics, or of theology, or for receiving from it any other kind of mental schooling ; but we go to it for the pleasure of emotional, imaginative, and aesthetic satisfaction which is offered to us, in equal measure, both by the poetry of beliefs and non-beliefs. So, if the spring of a powerful poetic sensibility, which alone can keep a poet's beliefs alive, is dried up within a poet rather than his beliefs, howsoever deep or firm they be, are bound to wither away and die as poetry. Those beliefs may live in the books of philosophy or of theology or of metaphysics, but they will not live for us in the pages of poetry.

Perspectives Of Charlotte Bronte From Her Letters

By

X Y Z

IN the fall of 1840, Wordsworth, about the end of his life, received a letter from Charlotte Bronte and wondered at the wordings :

> "Sir, I am very much obliged to you for your kind and candid letter. I almost wonder you took the trouble to read and notice the novelette of an anonymous scribe, who had not even the manners to tell you whether he was a man or a woman, or whether his 'C. T.' meant Charles Timms or Charlotte Tomkins."[1]

Without giving her identity Charlotte Bronte had, of course, written to Wordsworth who had been the presiding spirit of the contemporary literary world. Now, we can well conjecture the personality of the writer between the lines of this letter. Charlotte Bronte, the third of the six queer children of Rev. Patrick Bronte and Maria Branwell, was cruelly shy and reserved—although in much less a degree than Emily Bronte who was the greater genius of the two sisters. For we know that it was precisely the enthusiasm and drive of Charlotte which marked her own enchanting novels were responsible for the publication of *Wuthering Heights* and *Tenant of Wildfell Hall* of Anne Bronte. Had she not been that vital, we might have had no Bronte legend.

Charlotte Bronte jealously guarded their names from being published. It was she who arranged for the publication of their works under the title *Poems by Curer, Ellis & Acton Bell.* This has, of course, led her to make utterly false statements about her two sisters as also about herself. "I have given no one a right either to affirm or to hint in the most distant manner that I was publishing",[2] she told Ellen Nussey angrily when latter had referred to the local gossip that Charlotte had been writing novels, and assured her friend that "you are authorised by Miss Bronte to say that she repels and disowns every accusation of the kind."[3]

This untruthfulness does not at all show any unscrupulous mind. This hiding of the real self was warranted by her impediments. For she had some definite reasons for prefering to publish her books under an assumed name and in the garb of a man.

Had she acknowledged her works her extremely sensitive nature would have had her helplessly fettered and there would have been no further creation as she was allergic to even the slightest criticism from the reading public. Anonymity gave her free play to indulge in emotion and to scatter poetry in her beautifully written novels. Of course she presented herself in altogether a different light to the world. She protected herself with some severity from being known by the ordinary public. In a letter to W. S. Williams she writes thus:

> "If I were known I should ever be conscious in writing that my book would be read by ordinary acquaintances, and that would fetter me intolerably".[4]

The brief period of authorship of Charlotte Bronte was beset with innumerable practical problems. Nobody but Mrs. Gaskell, the first biographer of the Brontes, well knew how much arduous it was to write in spite of the onerous household duties of Charlotte and her responsibility of guardianship of an eerie sister in the person of Emily. Even then Charlotte Bronte had the guts to perform the duties of a liaison officer in linking the Bronte prodigies to the external world.

So this remarkable spokesman of Haworth parsonage had to maintain correspondence to the literary greats as well as social leaders, influential personalities, friends, fans and relatives. A study of Charlotte's letters reveals that her mode of style varies from correspondent to correspondent. We have already seen at the beginning of this essay how condescendingly and yet in no language of flattery she addresses Wordsworth. While writing to great writers she was courteous and made her literary acumen evident to them but without indulging in exhibitionism.

In her epistles to her friend, Ellen Nussey, she reveals herself in intimate language of friendship. In the letter quoted above we see the intimate and yet severe tone in which she defends herself. Ellen Nussey was quite conscientious in keeping all Charlotte's

letters. The letters found with her were the most valuable source of material of which Mrs. Gaskell took full use when writing the biography of Charlotte Bronte and her sisters. Ellen was a noble character and Charlotte was drawn to her immediately and soon they became great friends. To Ellen she opened the secrets of heart. Some letters written to her reveal Charlotte's mind reeling with Calvinistic doctrines. She was a young woman whose free spirit had been stifled on too many occasions in the milieu she found herself in. The suppressed instinct found expression in troubled state of mental unbalance which was, however, ephemeral. A few letters to Ellen Nussey reflect this state of affairs clearly:

> "My eyes fill with tears when I contrast the bliss of such a state, brightened with such a state I now live in; uncertain that I have ever felt true contrition wandering in the thought and deed, longing for holiness which I shall never, attain, smitten at times to the heart the conviction that ghastly doctrines are true, darkened, in short, by the very shadows of Spiritual Death. If Christian perfection is necessary to salvation, I shall never be saved. My heart is a real hot bed for sinful thoughts, and as to practice, when I decide on an action, I scarcelly remember to look my Redeemer for direction"[5].

This letter might lead some readers into doubting the sanity of Charlotte's mind. But it would be wrong to jump to this conclusion. For we must take into account the surroundings in Charlotte found herself. It is in our time that the importance of the subconscious in relation to mental troubles is brought to light. In fact, Charlotte Bronte was at odds with the age. The repression of common sentiments of the young age led to some sort of nervous stress. Moreover, the total lack of male company created a void in the lives of Haworth household. And these numerous causes were responsible for the morbid broodings over imagined guilt which had been conveyed to Ellen Nussey without any reserve. However, this sinister aspect was a passing phase and, of course, it passed away before long. Ellen Nussey was a most kind friend to Charlotte and to Ellen goes the credit of comforting a desolate heart. "Write to me, dear Nell, whenever you can. You do a good deed when you send me a letter, for you comfort

a very desolate heart".[6] Writing to Ellen, Charlotte could be utmost confiding. If Charlotte could share her Calvinistic doubts with Ellen, she could also confide in her the Belief which she never lost completely : "I hope my next communication with you will be face to face, and not as through a letter darkly. Commending you to the care of ONE above us, all I remain, still, my dear Ellen, Your Friend".[7]

The letters to G. H. Lewes have a tone of literary argument over the craft of the novel. This celebrated critic of her time was a versatile writer and was astonishingly quick to recognise merit and ready to help young authors. It was he who was too generous to shield George Eliot from her bitter critics by writing judiciously of her succesful novels. However, G. H. Lewes quickly recognised in Charlotte Bronte a novelist of great promise and came to her aid. Charlotte Bronte, although greatly impressed by him spurned his advice, for G. H. Lewes held Jane Austen in the greatest esteem. This is one of the most interesting stories of literary authorship in English. This is how Charlotte Bronte goes on in one of her letters to him :

> "why do you like Miss Austen so much ? I am puzzled on that point I had not seen "Pride & Prejudice" till I read that sentence of yours, and then I got the book. And what did I find ? An accurate daguerreotyped portrait of a commonplace face ; a carefully fenced, highly cultivated garden, with neat borders and delicate flowers ; but no glance of a bright vivid physiognomy, no open country, no fresh air, no blue hill, no bonny beck. I should hardly like to live with her ladies and gentlemen, in their elegant but confined houses."[8]

Jane Austen's restraint is poles apart from Charlotte Bronte's extravagance. Their temperaments were utterly different and G. H. Lewes's advice of disciplining her taste and imagination to the degree of Jane Austen was futile. Charlotte Bronte's curt reply must have surprised a man like G. H. Lewes : "I mean to observe your warning about being careful how I undertake new works ; my stock of material is not abundant, but very slender ; and, beside, neither my experience, my acquirements, nor my powers, are sufficiently varied to justify my ever becoming a frequent

writer. I tell you this, because your article in *Fraser* left in me an uneasy impression that you were disposed to think better of the author of *Jane Eyre* than that individual deserved ; and I would rather you had a correct than a flattering opinion of me, even though I should never see you...I will endeavour to follow the counsel which shines out of Miss Austen's 'mild eyes', 'to finish more and be more subdued' ; but neither am I sure of that".[9]

Letter writing as an art, as a craft and as a pastime was very dear to Charlotte Bronte. The letters coming into the morose and morbid world of Haworth Parsonage brought with them hope, pleasure, and sunny weather. The letter going out of Haworth discharged some of its gloom on the way and the surcharged black atmosphere of the Parsonage had its defeat. A letter written to Charles Williams is a testimony to this fact :

> "I cannot thank you sufficiently for your letters and I can give you but a faint idea of the pleasure they afford me ; they seem to introduce light and life to the torpid retirement where we live like dormice".[10]

Of all documents, the letters are the most essentially human. The honest letters are more informative, more amusing, more pathetic, more vital than any considerable autobiography. They show the writer without his defences, uncover all his thoughts and feelings. These letters too often reveal the gloomy and unfathomed caverns of the soul, they also reveal the bright, gay or playful aspects of the outwardly pompous persons.

Now, the Bronte letters cannot be said to have an exemplary style to be imitated by the lovers of English letters. A century such as the eighteenth with all its emphasis on grace and decorum could only have produced letters of elegance. Bronte letters, if judged on the precepts of the eighteenth century, would lose esteem of the readers. But these letters have their charm—the charm of an eerie personality opening out her enchanting mind. And if we make allowances for the agonised individualities of the Bronte sisters living in their charged atmosphere of abnormal adolescence we have got to admit that these letters are worth our serious attention.

The text of the letters quoted is—

Muriel Spark's *The Bronte Letters* in Peter Nevill edition.

1. Muriel Spark-*The Bronte Letters* p. 87
2. Ibid. p. 144
3. Ibid. p. 144
4. Ibid. p. 99
5. Ibid. p. 60
6. Ibid. p. 111
7. Ibid. p. 70
8. Ibid. p. 143
9. Ibid. p. 142
10. Ibid. p. 141

Jahangir in Kashmir : An Account of Accounts

By

Dr. Mohammad Yasin.

SALIM, the child of many prayers, was brought up at a court which extended a splendid patronage to art, and in a city which was in itself a marvel of art. His aesthetic faculties were trained to a remarkable degree. His education made him fairly conversant with history and geography. He is fond of biographical details. His interest in botany and zoology would have done credit to any professional scientist. His delight in beautiful stones and artistic swords or hilts, was exquisite. Equally remarkable is his intense passion for beauties of nature. He loved stories and acquired the knack of graphic narration. He developed a somewhat poetic disposition, paraded his skill in versification, and sowed his talk with poetic quotations.

When Salim in 1605, at the age of thirty-six, became Jahangir the poet in him did not die. When late in life, in keeping with the traditions of some earlier kings, he wrote his diary, his early training and education proved a great asset. Henry Beveridge, the editor of Jahangir's Memoirs, says : "The Royal authors of the East had more blood in them than those kings whose works have been catalogued by Horace Walpole. To find a parallel to them we must go back to Julius Caesar, and even then the advantage is not upon the side of Europe. After all, the commentaries of the famous Roman are a little disappointing, and certainly the Memoirs of Babar and Jahangir are far more human and fuller of matter than the story of the Gallic Wars."

Jahangir was a most faulty human being, and his own account of himself often excites our disgust and contempt. But his account of himself has also its charm, for it reveals the real man, and so he lives for us in his Memoirs just as James VI lives in the 'Fortunes of Nigal' of Cladius in Suetonius and Tacitus.

Jahangir is a true Indian. He dwells delightedly on the charms of Indian flowers, particularises the pales, the bokul, and

the champa, and avows that no fruit of Afghanistan or Central Asia is equal to the mango.

The poet in Jahangir becomes ecstatic when he enters into the "Paradise on Earth". The beauties of Kashmir and the beauty of Jahangir's mind and heart, make his narrative simply enchanting. He describes the flowers and springs with poetic fervour. He would gaze, rapt with wonder and admiration, at beautiful rose or tulip hill or rivulet. Of course, all this was taken to celestial heights by the presence of his heart's solace Nur Jahan by his side. What Khayyam wrote in verse, Jahangir recorded in poetic prose in his *Tuzk-i-Jahangiri*.

Jahangir visited Kashmir several times along with his father Emperor Akbar. When he became king, to avoid the heat and dust of the plains, Jahangir, almost every year, ran to Kashmir to repose in the lap of the nature.

Jahangir was married to Nur Jahan Begam in 1611. She had a fancy for the happy Valley ; henceforth, the royal couple was the regular visitor.

In the second year of his reign. when Jahangir reached Kashmir and pitched on the bank of the Jhelum, he records : "In the night a very strong wind blew, dark clouds obscured the sky, and it rained so heavily that even the oldest persons had never seen such rain within their memory. The rain ended with showers of hail-stones, which were as large as hens' eggs".

Jahangir dwells upon the source of Jhelum previously called Behat : "The source of the river Behat is a fountain in Kashmir, called Verinag. The spring rises in a basin, of an octangular form. Its water is so clear that although its depth is to be beyond estimation, yet if a poppy-seed be thrown in, it will be visible till it reaches the bottom". But the researcher in Jahangir was not satisfied with popular verdict : "As I was told that the fountain was unfathomably deep, I ordered a stone to be tied to the end of a rope and thrown into it, and thus it was found that its depth did not exceed the height of a man and a half".

From Verinag, Jahangir reaches Pampur, the land of saffron. He mentions : "All the saffron of Kashmir is the product of this village. Perhaps there is no other place in the world where

saffron is so abundantly produced". When he visited the saffron fields in the blossoming season, he noted : "In all other trees we see they first get the branches, then the leaves, and after all the flower. But it is otherwise with this plant. It blossoms when it is only about two inches high from the ground. Its flower is of a bluish colour, having four leaves and four threads of orange colour, in length equal to one joint of the finger. This is saffron". Jahangir further mentions : "In the season when it is collected, it has such a strong scent that people get headache from it".

Speaking about the Jhelum, Jahangir says : 'It passes through the heart of the city. No one drinks its water, because of its heaviness and indigestibility. All the people of Kashmir drink the water of a lake that is near the city, and is called Dal".

"In Kashmir there is plenty of water from streams and springs", says Jahangir. He notices the cluster of graceful *Chanars* "together on one plot of ground, pleasant and green, join each other so as to shade the whole plot, and the whole surface of the ground is grass and trefoil ; so much so that to lay a carpet on it would be superfluous and in bad taste".

"Autumn and Spring in Kashmir are things worthy to be seen", recommends Jahangir. "I witnessed the Autumn season," he states, "and it appeared to me to be better than what I had heard of it". The youthful exuberance of Spring was exhilarating.

Jahangir throws ample light on the economic life of the Kashmiri people. In Srinagar, Jahangir found only "four bridges made of wood and stone". The boat was the only means of transport. There were 5,700 boats and 7,400 boatmen.

Jahangir describes the weights and measures current in this part of the country. He treats of the routes to Kashmir and suggests the Pakhli route as the best if a person wished to enjoy the scenic beauty on the way.

The houses in Kashmir were constructed all of wood and went up to four storeys. The house-top was filled with earth over which flowers were grown which looked very pleasing.

The variety and taste of Kashmiri fruits find detailed mention in Jahangir's memoirs. Wine and vinegar were available in abundance. The vinegar was also used in making pickles.

Rice (*bhatta*) was the main food of the Kashmiris which was cooked without salt. Generally, vegetables were boiled in water and a little of salt was added for taste. Oil and butter were used by people who were comparatively well off.

Wheat was of inferior quality and was produced very little. Kashmiris did not take bread. Various kinds of meat and fish were easily available.

Men and women wore woollen cloth called *Pattoo*. They believed that without wearing *Pattoo* they caught cold and it was not possible to digest food without it.

Men of Kashmir shaved their head and wore turban. Kashmiri women wore long *kurtas* which covered them from head to foot.

Kashmiri shawls, says Jahangir, need no introduction. He mentions various varieties of shawls and compares them with those manufactured in Tibet.

The labourers in Kashmir usually used to get salt in return of their wages. Jahangir makes a particular reference of the shortage of salt in Kashmir which was imported from Hindustan "for salt is not produced in Kashmir". Jahangir continues: "Even in the beauty of the inhabitents there is but very little".

After writing such a comprehensive commentary on Kashmir, Jahangir admits his shortcomings. "It will require books", he says, "to detail the beauties and niceties of Kashmir". He sums up: "Kashmir is the ever-green garden. It is the pleasure resort for the kings and for saints and seers, an ideal abode for seclusion and meditation". That is why, while on death bed, when asked about his last wish, Jahangir said: "Kashmir and nothing else".

Kalhana and his *Rajatarangini*

By

Dr. Mrs. Madhvi Yasin.

INDIAN architecture, sculpture, cave-temples and paintings, in most cases, do not reveal the names of their authors. The peculiar trait of self-abnegation is specially characteristic of Ancient India. This is also noticed in the case of some of the literary and historical works. In the case of *Rajatarangini*, "The River of Kings", we at least know the name of the author, but, here again, the whole ancestry and the life of the author is hidden in oblivion. Kalhana shares the common fate of the Indian authors of note whose memory lives solely in their works. The introductory note attached to the end of each book of *Rajatarangini*, gives the name of the author as 'Kalhana', 'the son of the great Kashmiri Minister,' "the illustrious Lord Canpaka". Historical deductions reveal that he was a Brahmin by caste. The Sanskrit style of *Rajatarangini* is similar to that of the accepted style of the Pandits of Brahmin descent. The introduction to each book of his chronicle is begun by prayers to Shiva in his form of *Ardhnarishwar* representing the God in union with Parvati. Besides, Jonaraja, the continuator author of *Rajatarangini*, has referred Kalhana with the epithat "dvija". A study of his chronicle displays his friendly attitude towards Buddhism. His faith may be epitomized in one word "electicism".

The name Kalhana was derived through the Prakrit "Kalhan" from the Sanskrit word "Kalyana", meaning "blessed".

Kalhana wrote his work during the years 1148-1149. The style and the spirit of the work shows that the author must have attained a mature age. The elaborate description of the unsteady conditions of Sussal's reign (A. D. 1112-20) makes it clear that he must have been of age at that time. Hence, his probable date of birth might have been the beginning of the twelfth century.

The century of the birth of Kalhana was marked, in the history of Kashmir, by a dynastic upheaval resulting in many important political changes. King Harsha A. D. (1089-1101) seemed at first to give Kashmir a period of good government but he fell

victim to his own lavishness and extravagances. After his murder, Kashmir, for seven years more, witnessed civil wars which brought death and destruction in its wake.

Kalhana was gifted with scientific approach and a critical temperament. His portrayal of the various classes of Kashmiri people is very graphic and true to life. The reaction of the common folk to the disturbed political conditions of the time, is full of realistic touches. He says that the people were "zealously prepared to welcome any change". His description of the idle and indifferent city crowds and their feelings, shows that he thoroughly understood the nature of his countrymen.

The unsettled political conditions of the time negatived all chances of patronage to the creative works of art ; hence *Rajatarangini* was not written under the patronage of any King. Kalhana had a high sense of his responsibilities He considers only historians "Worthy of praise, whose word, like that of a judge, keeps free from love or hatred in relating the facts of the past..." and surpasses even the stream of nectar,.. and can place the past times before the eyes of men !"

It is interesting to note that Kalhana prepared himself for the role of a poet. The Sanskrit classical poetry cultivated by Kalhana reveals that he had a intensive training in the Indian rhetoric, the *Alainkars'astra*, and the equal mastery of Sanskrit grammatical lore. His literary studies were deep and comprehensive. All the literature of his time, beginning from Epics to Kalidas's works *Raghuvanisha* and *Meghduta* and Bilhan's *Vikramankadevacharita* and *Harshcharita*, were read by him. Stein says : "His literary training, indeed, had been of the strictly traditional trype and the manner in which he employed it shows no conscious departure from the conventional norm. Yet it is clear that Kalhana was not a man of schools, absorbed in his *Siastras*".

Kalhana scrupulously studied the original sources including inscriptions of various kinds before he started writing, the *Rajatarangini*. He also studied coins and inspected buildings.

Kalhana found all possible avenues to his hereditary career closed on account of unsettled political conditions of the country. So, the best way to employ his talents, he thought, was to write down the history of his country from ancient down to his time.

He was also inspired by regional patriotism. By painting a glorious picture of the past he wished that the countrymen should shed the inferiority complex, feel proud and try to emulate their past traditions Therefore, the Great Asoka, he shows, was the kind of Kashmir whose examples were to be followed. It is Kalhana's sheer patriotism when he says: "Kashmir may be conquered by the force of spiritual merits, but not by the force of soldiers."

Kalhana has honestly and impartially related the events. While recording the contemporary happenings Kalhana has presented the principal figures in their individual character and not as types. Here he represents a contrast to Baina and Bilhan in treating historical personages, who have painted their heroes all white and enemies all black.

Rajatarangini is a class by itself in Indian literature. It is very much different from *Charitas*, which were composed under royal patronage. The scholar-poets of *Charitas* had the rare gift of inventing fables and myths and applying their talent in glorifying the achievements of their patrons. Their works are masterpieces of literature dabbling in subtle poetic art, rhetorical embellishment, and *alainkarshastra*. *Rajatarangini*, on the other hand, is the work of a detached and impartial mind, viewing the past and present with historical acumen and not in a spirit of hero worship or pleasing patron. *Rajatarangini* not only forms a class by itself in Sanskrit compositions but has a striking resemblance in character to the chronicles of medieval Europe and of the Islamic East.

While writing the first three books (chapters) of *Rajatarangini* Kalhana made full use of tradition whether written or oral, and the chronicles which were evidently based on such traditions. In writing down these traditions, at times, the critic in Kalhana comes out. For instance, he mentions three traditions of the death of the king Lalitaditya, without stating what is true, and comments: "When the great meet their end there arise—stories indicative of their uncommon grandeur." King Meghavahan's exploits have been described in such a fanciful manner, that Kalhana himself is apprehensive that they might not be accepted as true but he tries to justify them by comparing them with the cruelties of Harsha, which, in their town, might not be believed, but for them these were eyewitnesses.

For the last two chapters of his book Kalhana, main sources

were his contemporaries, his father, fellow-countrymen and his own memory. Thus many incidents of the treachery of Bhiksacara's troops, he categorically writes, were witnessed by him. It is no surprise that much of the history of the previous two generations, he got from his father and father's friends who held key-posts in the politics of their times.

To give the details, *Rajatarangini* consists of eight books (Chapters) of unequal size, written in Sanskrit in nearly 8,000 verses of rare literary merit. The text ' may roughly be divided into three sections :-

1. Books I—III, are based on traditions.
2. In Books IV—VI, dealing with Karakota and Utpala dynasties, he has made use of the works of earlier chronicles who were contemporaries or near contemporaries of the events they described.
3. For Books VII and VIII, dealing with the two Lohara dynasties, he made use of personal knowledge and eye-witness accounts, the latter often perhaps received at second or third hand.

The style of Rajatarangini is not crude or difficult. These are scattered verses adorned in flowery language or donned in fanciful imagery, of country Sanskrit. Kalhana's idea was that even a historical text must be a work of art and has tried to make his work attractive to readers. His accounts are graphic and vivid except in his last two books, where so many characters are introduced without proper introduction. Kalhana who had maintained strict adherence to chronology from the beginning of the book most religiously, had, in the second and third sections not followed it to the letter. Evidently he was writing his book for those, who were familiar with the events of the period.

Kalhana in writing *Rajatarangini* set a tradition for history writing. His book, after him, was continued by four successive historians from the point where he left, to some years after Kashmir's annexation by the Mughal Emperor Akbar.

The mission of a historian, according to Kalhana, is to make vivid before one's eyes pictures of a bygone age. History has a unique gift of immortalising personages and events, and in this it even surpasses the mythical ambrosia, while the latter immortalizes

only the man who drinks it, the form of all those whom it touches. Kalhana was aware that his work would not only achieve permanency, but would enliven all the actors as well as himself. He had another object also in view. He says "This saga, which is properly made up, should be useful for kings as a stimulant or a sedative, like a physic, according to time and place". Kalhana expected that both good and bad Kings would derive profit from his work. He is a staunch advocate of historical impartiality.

Kalhana's assessment of more recent happenings is fair. He paints no character wholly black or white. He had deep insight into man's nature and his psychology. He says: "As in heaven the little clouds change shape, and take on the form of elephants, leopards, monsters, serpents, horses and other beasts—so do the waves of feeling change in the hearts of mortals, from kindness to harshness as the moments vary."

The didactic feature of *Rajatarangini* may be traced to the selection of *Sarta rasa* i.e. sentiment of resignation. Here Kalhana's avowed motive is to show that material prosperity and royal possessions are objects of transitory glory. The evil acts of man recoil on his by the strange hands of destiny. In the same way, acts of policy, statecraft and individual conduct are again and again praised and analysed in the light of *Dharma* or *Nitishastra*.

Rajatarangini appears to wage a war in favour of benevolent despotism and deprecates feudalism. Believing in orthodox *Rajniti* (State-craft), he had his own conception of good government. Explicitly or implicitly *Rajatarangini* carries the idea that a strong king is the ideal king, who has firm control over unruly elements, but is benevolent towards his people and sympathetic to their wishes. He chooses his ministers with discretion, and listens to their counsels with respect. Kalhana has shown his unflinching disapproval of the *demars*, the petty feudal chiefs, who were the cause of anarchy and confusion in Kashmir since the death of Harsha. Another motive, perhaps, in writing *Rajatarangini* was to inspire the kings of Kashmir with their ancient glory and prowess, and to curb the unruly elements, who aimed at making the king weak. He says 'The crab kills its father, and the white aunt destroys its mother, but the ungrateful *Kayesthas*, when they become powerful, destroy every thing". At times Kalhana becomes pessimistic. The words put in the mouth of Harsha symbolises it: "This land, after having been a virtuous woman, has fallen

like a prostitute into the arms of the insolent. Henceforth, whoever knows how to succeed by mere intrigue will aspire to that Kingdom whose power has gone". Here the historian shows his prophetic vision. He is no more simply a poet or a scholar.

Rajatarangini is a sage showing the force of *Karama*. Whatever good or bad a man does in this life, Kalhana believes, reaps the harvest for that in the life to come. Often the force of *Karama* shapes events and provides the basic moral sanction.

Fate, according to Kalhana, is the second force influencing the human destiny. Fate is sometimes used as a synonym for God. God or the Gods often influence human affairs. Sometimes adverse fate is overcome by those who trust in their arms. Here also *Rajatarangini* gives another hopeful message to his countrymen that whatever fate the creator might have in store for them, only a strong king confident of his powers could save Kashmir.

Rajatarangini interlinks the *Karama* of the Kings with that of his subjects. Good Kings arise through the merits of their subject. A king and his subjects could mould the orders of nature.

This great work has also some shortcomings. The sources used by him, were not critically analysed and discussed. His narrative becomes more legendary and anecdotal in the middle of the ninth century, when one seems to reach contemporary records. "Of the defects of the records and the conflicting opinions which according to Kalhana's introduction rendered his task difficult, we nowhere receive a distinct indication." Fabulous stories, manifest impossibilities, exaggerations and superstitions beliefs, have been described as historical truths, which betrays his credulity. He has not separated historic legends from history. Similarly, Kalhana's chronology is also not based on scientific data. Of course, one cannot expect critical judgment in matters of chronology from an author who has started dating history from a legendary date of the coronation of Yudhisthar from epics, and attributes three hundred years to a single ruler, Ranadilya. Kalhana could not and should not be blamed for this, as it was general trend among the Indians, so precisely described by Alberuni : "Unfortunately the Hindus do not pay much attention to the historical order of things, they are very careless in relating to chronological succession of their Kings,

and when they are pressed for information, and are at a loss, not knowing what to say, they invariably take to tale-telling".

Rajatarangini also presents a contrast within itself—its earlier part is a mass of friction, and later part, that is early medieval part, is real history. It vividly describes the falling glory of Kashmir,—place intrigues, murders, seditious, civil wars and treachery. The life of the ordinary common folk has not been touched. It is the history of kings, royal families and nobility, justifying the title "River of the Kings".

Plants and Mankind

By

Dr. P. Kachroo

FROM the beginning of history man has had an economic interest in the vegetation about him, even though originally his interest in it may not have been conscious, for he thought himself as something diffirent from the rest of the organic world. Primitive man, soon moved by circumstances and generally developing intellect, began the long process of controlling or altering his environment for his use and comfort as he learnt to know that he is absolutely dependent on other organisms for his very existence and material happiness. In fact, early records of primitive man show him in control of fire, for which he would need dry wood, a plant product A number of animal and mineral products contributed to his welfare as they do today and the plant kingdom has remanined the most essential element in his well being.

Needs of primitive man.

Undoubtedly, he had few needs : just shelter and food ; and the first stages of his exploitation of land were by hunting and food gathering, and the invention of agriculture, which developed at a much later stage, was the first successful introduction of a new form of resource, a use that made it possible to carry a larger population on the same land. Early man devised means for killing woody vegetation by stripping away tree or shrub bark with a stone or other implement at hand. At a later stage he also devised tools and weapons that often demanded a wooden shaft or handle. Soon he felt the need for the third important necessity of life, namely, clothing ; and thus came to know of and exploit the fibrous plant tissues which he used in building and weaving. Now he was able to place some plants as suitable for food, others as unpalatable or even poisonous and some for clothing or building shelter. Primitive man was thus obliged by his environs to know something of economic botany.

Adequate food supply was then and is still today, man's most outstanding need. Indeed all his food comes from plants,

directly or indirectly. Perhaps many tens of thousands of years were involved in the process of the gradual domestication of animals and certain kinds of plants but the efficacy of early man's attempts at domestication cannot be denied.

Soon, man was transformed into a primitive farmer who practised cultivation with the aid of fire. He was followed by dwellers in permanent village - communities when the superior technology of the Iron Age made possible the establishment of permanent, village-based agriculture. However, this progressive increase in intensity of land use brought about the destruction of natural forests. Initially, this was degenerative and exploiting ; later, a new balance was struck, with permanent agriculture and a form of land recuperation under fallow and grazing by livestock.

Dependence on plants.

With further advance in life an ever increasing complexity was introduced and this increased man's requirements to an amazing degree. The man of today needs something more than mere existence. All these requirements, such as provided by the conversion of raw-materials into useful commodities incidentally increase his debt to plants. Wood, which is still the world's most widely used raw material, provided the source of fibres and shelter and its extensive use became gradually an index of the prosperity of a nation. This is rightly so because a third of the world's land surface is covered with forests. Besides, man gradually came to understand that wood is valuable as a source of paper, rayon, drugs, poisons and fuel. Even coal and petroleum, which he discovered later, are made available from energy stored up by plants that lived and died ages ago. Crude drugs, which could be used to cure diseases were plant products. Even at the present time, most of our drugs are plant products, wild and cultivated, and the drug industry is dependent on this source to a large extent.

The plants are also a great source for extraction of cork, tanning materials, dyestuffs, oils, resins, gums, spices, perfumes, rubber, jute and cotton. Rubber and cotton have brought about great strides in civilization and cotton was responsible for the growth and decline of a few nations in the not-remote past.

In the economy of nature, it is not the flowering plants alone that contribute their share; algae and fungi have also made a

great contribution. Since man colonized the globe, sea weeds have formed part of his food, and mushrooms and other fleshy edible fungi he ate raw and cooked while moving from place to place in the thick jungles. Modern man looks to *Chlorella*, an unicellular alga, as a source of human food. This green alga yields 58% of protein on a dry-weight basis. Another microscopic organism that is receiving attention is a colourless plant called yeast. It has also great potentialities, e.g., a thousand pounds of animal produces a pound of protein in twenty four hours, while the same weight of *Torulopis* yeast produces 4,000 pounds of yeast in the same time. Two other yeasts, *Endomyces* and *Rhodotorula* have been found to be products of fat.

Food and agriculture.

An adequate supply of food and raw materials is so essential for use in industry and for the prosperity of nations. But few nations are self-sufficient in either. Maintaining a balanced trade and sustained economy is a baffling problem at times. In a country where the population is small, the problems involved in the production of food and raw materials are not very great. But in countries like India and China, which have a large population, one that is entirely out of proportion to the country's ability to produce the necessities of life, this tendency to overpopulation in excess of the maximum possible production of food and raw materials has given rise to many difficulties and problems that harass them, though both the nations have more than a restricted land area.

Another agricultural problem concerns the proper utilization of the land which might solve to a great extent the problem of food crisis which is threatening the country. Increased production thus can be achieved in two ways :

(a) extension of agriculture to areas which are not hitherto cultivated : and

b) increase in the production per hectare of cultivated area. But what is not usually observed is the relations of these to certain characteristics inherent in plants themselves. The successful pursuit of agriculture in any area depends on certain environmental factors that are necessary for a particular crop, because each species differs in its requirements such as soil, moisture, and temperature. Further, it may be remembered that bringing more area under cultivation will entail more initial capital investment. To avoid

it, efforts are being made to produce more per hectare area with the use of soil nutrients, fertilizers etc.

Proper utilization of land has to be scientific and not haphazard. Imagine, for example, the practice of shifting cultivation practiced by momadic tribes which has advanced at the expense of natural vegetation and has left forests as the main casuality. Besides the loss of vegetation of commercial value, the spreading of fires (to clear forests) to adjoining areas results in destruction of fallow and litter and burns considerable nutrients in the soil. This drastic action leads to erosion and results in deterioration in the physico-chemical properties of the soil.

The main ecological influence of shifting vegetation is that the character of vegetation undergoes a vital change in this destructive process. Regression sets in and the forests of high trees give place to low vegetal cover of grasses, bamboos and shrubs. For example, this practice has resulted in the disappearance of sal forests over hundreds of square miles in Eastern Ghats, of other forests in Madhya Pradesh and pines in Assam. To remedy this situation, the retirement of these "submarginal lands", from agriculture is recommended. This would make possible the utilization of the areas for forests, controlled grazing, wild life preservation, etc. The resettlement of some of the farming population obviously has a profound effect on human activities. These nomads could be encouraged to alternate their permanent crops, Such a remedical measure would include provision of land in the plains below and the establishment of permanent agriculture

The Soil :

Still other agricultural problems are physical, rather than economic in nature. In fact, the problem of proper utilisation of land in India has reached a critical stage of development. The continued deforestation for farming and urbanization has induced conditions that have resulted in the deterioration of the soil ; or in detachment and transportation of soil particles and rock material from denuded areas. Even though the loss of nutrient material may be compensated for by the use of fertilizers, the soil itself could never be replaced.

Erosion is thus a penalty that man pays for his extravagant use of the soil, the extent of the penalty not becoming evident until the last of the agricultural frontiers begin to feel the effects of accelerated soil wastage.

While in most cases water may mainly be the transporting agent, wind, gravity and other factors also play their part in certain localities. The normal or geological erosion (removal of soil by water, wind, etc.) is seldom harmful until man interferes in upsetting the balance of nature, and thereby causes abnormally rapid deterioration in soil or brings about accelerated erosion. This latter type of erosion has caused destruction of many civilizations of the world, e. g., Mesopotamia, once a fertile and prosperous land in the time of the Babylonians, is now virtually a desert. Nearer home, Taxila and Harappa bear testimony to the past productivity of this part of India. Bijapur, once a flourishing capital, is now a picture of devastation. Surat, once a commercial centre, as a result of the river Tapti getting set, has eroded the countryside and is left with a population of 80,000 from the 800,000 of half a century ago.

In India, about 25% of the total land area are exposed to hazards of wind and water erosion and there is urgent need of conservation. The most spectacular areas of soil erosion are found along the Chambal and Yamuna rivers (flowing through Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh). The erosion in and along these areas has been caused by wind, gully and unwise use of land and unchecked grazing. In general, erosion is severe in the eastern parts of India : Bihar, Bengal and Assam, due to high rainfall, uncontrolled floods, stagnation of water, etc. The problem of hill-torrents is acute in the foot hills of the Panjab and U. P.

Another problem connected with soil loss is salinity and alkalinity of soils. Nearly six million hectares of our land suffer from this malady, mainly in the Panjab, Rajasthan, U. P., Delhi and the Deccan Plateau. The introduction of irrigation has been helpful in some areas, though at some places water-logging may also result, and this poses a problem in the Punjab, Maharashtra, Jammu & Kashmir and Delhi. All these have an adverse effect on agriculture. However, by adopting soil conservation measures, man has been able to revitalise land by adopting strip cropping, crop rotations, mulching, planting of grasses, and trees, and contour tillage, contour bunding, terracing, construction of reservoirs and dams to control floods and gullies.

Finally, soil fertility is improved by the use of fertilizers and providing the soil with major and minor nutrients essential

for plant growth. Another remedy suggested to increase the area of production of food is through farm forestry, a provision to provide fuel, timber and fodder to the villager. Farm forestry provides a balanced development of agriculture. In this way, a good percentage of the wastelands in India could be used for growing grasses, fuel, timber, etc. which could be used locally for construction, making agricultural implements, fences, posts, and a number of cheap domestic articles. Such farm forests are also used as shelter belts in and around dry lands which are thus revegetated. A number of cottage industries can also develop in such areas and provide employment to the rural population and thwart its migration to urban areas.

Some landmarks in the science of economic botany.

The works of Alphonse de Candolle and N. I. Vavilov are classics in the development of economic botany. Candolle, in his *Geographical Botany* of 1855 and more particularly in his *Origin of Cultivated Plants* 1883 was the first to attempt to determine precisely the ancestral form, region of domestication, and history of most of the important cultivated plants. This findings have been the basis of much of similar research until recently.

Vavilov, the Russian, was in a sense a de Candolle of the twentieth century. Following the Russian tradition of extensive research, Vavilov assembled immense quantities of data from many sources. Utilizing ideas from comparatively new fields like genetics Vavilov was able to indicate with great exactness centres of origin of cultivated plants. In the light of more recent research, some of his generalizations have merited modification, but on the whole, economic botany is indebted to Vavilov for many basic principles that still bear fruit.

Recent trends in economic botany :

Enormous effort has been made in investigations concerning economic botany within the last half century. Such as provied by the activities of organizations like the U S Department of Agriculture, the Kew Garden U. K. the U. S. S. R. Academy of Science, etc. as also the Indian Agricultural Research Institute and the many large agricultural colleges throughout the world, all of which is evidence of man's increasing realisation that his future rests with making plant-service to him more and more efficient. There has been

a great interest in the twentieth century the world over for new or better plants for industrial purposes, for food and forage. and for ornamentation. Consider also man's domestication of microscopical flora. Thus bacteria which have been gazed at with fascination since the 1680's have provided great possibilities as antibiotics, being effective treatment for general bacterial infections, typhoid, tuberculosis septicaemia, etc. Fleming's work and its importance to mankind is too well-known to be mentioned in this context.

The fundamental concept of microorganisms producing substances lethal to other micro·organisms was described as early as 1867 by Pasteur and Joubert. A direct result of it is seen in such breath-taking discoveries as the production of plastics from vegetable-waste, vitamins from yeast, alcohol from saw-dust, and even herbicides that pose a threat of biological warfare.

American Studies—A Revaluation

By

Dr. T. Jayaraman

CONSIDERING the enthusiasm for American Studies evinced by the delegates to the recent American Conference in Srinagar, it would seem that our academics are keen on accepting American Studies as a subject, not as an appendix to English Studies but as something inherently valuable. It is in the belief that such an enthusiasm augurs a change in our general attitude towards this subject and that the time now is ripe for a reconsideration of the place and nature of American Studies among us that this article is written.

Time and a critical revaluation of the past three decades have—or ought to have—altered our perspective on American Studies. Books such as Charles Feidelson's *Symbolism and American Literature* and R. W. B. Lewis's *The American Adam*, by intelligently applying and extending the ideas of Perry Miller and F. O. Matthissen, have confirmed the intensity of the American experiment and the high seriousness of the major American writers. But these are relatively late-flowering plants and would not have been possible without that intensive cultivation of ground which has been characteristic of the American Universities and critical journals since the thirties. Yet although some of these books in question have been known to our academics—if only through British sources—they seem to be curiously unaware of the weight of evidence now assembled ; the fact that—judging from the themes and tenor of the papers presented at the recent conference—our academics are still concerned with Emerson and Thoreau—not from the point of view of their contribution to the American quest for indentity but from the extraodinary angle of tracing Vedantic traits in them—is some indication of our general reluctance to concede that American Literature has it own traditions and its own remarkably distinct traits. One should have thought, judging from our willingness to go the whole hog with the dictates of the American Foundation in establishing American Studies in our Universities, that it is this distinctive aspect of American Literature that ought to have been the guiding principle in forming courses in our Universities. Sadly this is not the case.

There is little point in going very deeply into the reason for this reluctance or in berating ourselves for not being perceptive or critical enough in our attitudes to our new-found darling. Whatever be the reason, it might be reasonable to suppose that our attitude to it is similar to that of the Englishman a few decades ago: a refusal to see American Literature as a sufficiently distinctive thing for him to devote himself to it as a separate area of study. He thought that as the literature was in English, it was natural to consider American writers as part of English Literature. There was nothing more natural in this except that they are American and to annex them is a discourtesy. But, if this were the only reason—that as they are American, their literature ought to constitute a separate discipline—it could not have carried so much of weight as it has done in British Universities to-day. Right-thinking British academics proved first that there is enough in American studies and secondly there is something to be gained by considering American literature all of a piece.[1]

The question is, as heirs to the British academic tradition, have we questioned our acceptance of American studies sufficiently seriously?

It is not difficult to do so for there are sufficient books available now, from the standard *Literary History of the United States* edited by Spiller *et al.*, to the abstracts of the latest Ph. D. thesis from Ann Arbor to make it quite clear that from the point of view of sheer weight there *is* enough of it there. There was a feeling that Americans themselves tend towards a somewhat uncritical acceptance of their writers. Whether this is true or not, it is the quality and not the quantity of American Literature that should be established if we accept American writers, and what should be the criterion in selecting them?

This is, to some extent, a matter of opinion and since opinion, if it is to be widely accepted must be supported by illustration and argument, brief answers cannot be satisfactory. However, as a basis of my argument for a rethinking on the issue, I would only suggest some names to provide a talking-point.

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1 cf: F. R. Leavis: (The American Pioneers) 'represent a comparative enquiry into the criteria of civilization which transcends the vindication of one side against another, feeling creatively towards an ideal possibility that is neither Europe nor America". (Introduction to *The complex Fate*)

One or two names come up immediately : first, those of Mark Twain and Melville. For his *Moby Dick* alone, Melville could be considered to have the stature of greatness, although there may still be found among us those who maintain it is not a "pure" novel. In the light of the development of the novel during the past hundred years, it is an exploratory novel, a symbolic novel before symbolism and in spite of its melodrama, a work of delight and profound seriousness. The same may be said of *Huck Finn*, on which one might be almost prepared to go so far as Eliot when he says :

> So we come to see Huck himself...as one of the permanent figures of English fiction, not unworthy to take a place with Ulysses, Faust, Don Quixote, Don Juan, Hamlet, and other great discoveries that man has made about himself.

Whitman and James are also indisputable world-figures and in the 20th century, Faulkner, Hemingway, Pound, Eliot and Wallace Stevens. Eight or ten names, thus, one can feel confident about, four of these in the 19th century. Over Hawthorne, there might be more debate, although it may be conceded that he is a literary artist of importance and is coming to be seen more so in the light of recent critical appraisals. In his concept of the "Poetical novel," of the novel as an art form rather than as an unambiguous story or a document of life, Hawthorne not only influenced later American writers but also anticipated the preoccupations of those 20th Century novelists like Virginia Woolf, who have paid much attention to word and texture.

There are also indications from the syllabi of several of our Universities that we may seriously have underestimated the importance of Poe. It has been the habit—another British legacy -- to stress his "Vulgarity" and the "meretriciousness" of his poety and to marvel at what was taken to be an uncritical acceptance of his work by the French ! However, it was Poe's anti-didacticism and initiation of a form of symbolism and his declaration in his *Philosophy of Composition* that poetry ought to be subject to no laws but its own, which inspired a not inconsiderable movement in modern literature.

Poe's recognition of the importance of the irrational in life and art, his exploration of the darker side of the human mind would alone give him an important place in the later development of Romanticism and of that movement that led though Surrealism

to Hart Crane and Dylan Thomas. But his greatest achievement—sadly not noted by the framers of our syllabuses—is his short novel, *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym* and his short stories. They are the works of an artist and it is as an artist that he writes in his review of Hawthorne's *Twice Told Tales* suggesting precepts which, in the light of the subsequent development of the short story, have proved very much to the point.

Another figure who is coming to seem much more interesting is Fennimore Cooper, who, although not obviously of the stature of Melville or James, has a quality of his own which is not defined by calling him the "American Scott". For too long he has lived in the shadow of realism, his qualities largely unappreciated, because of the tendency to compare him unfavourably with the 19th century English novelists, as if their preoccupations were the norm by which all fiction is to be judged.

In considering the major, if not the greatest figures of American Literature, Emerson and Thoreau must not be forgotten, nor indeed Emily Dickinson, William Dean Howells, Henry Adam, Edith Wharton, Stephen Crane, Dreiser, Robert Frost, Sherwood Anderson, Sinclair Lewis, Marianne Moore, Ransom, E. E. Cummings, Thomas Wolfe, Dos Passos, Fitzgerald and Steinbeck. Yet such a list is very small, when compared with the total number of American authors, and does not cover all those to whose writings attention ought to be paid to understnd the American experience.

In the colonial period, for example, the Puritan poets are not enitrely didactic bores. Edward Taylor, for instance, is not an uninteresting minor poet. Out of the mass of historical, diary and above all, theological material of the American 17th century, the work of Bradford Winthorp, Sewall and Byrd stand out; in the 18th century, loom the figures of Jonathan Edwards and Benjamin Franklin; in the 19th century, there are the nearly forgotten but very readable work of Irving, Longfellow Whittier, Bret Harte, O. Henry etc. and in 20th century, there is a profusion of talent unheard—of by our syllabus framers such a Carl Sandburg, William Carlos Williams Lardner, Kathrine Anne Porter, Robert Penn Warren, Tate, Salinger etc.

But even so, might it not be asked what would be gained by considering American Literature separately? Might not this give the impression that it had developed enitirely on its own,

without any relation to English Literature? If it did, it would be bad—but there is little danger of this impression gaining much currency among us. One does not receive formal instruction in American Literature without being first grounded in English Literature, and in the process, resumably being well aware of the obvious and natural dependency of American Literature on the English until the 19th century and after that, of the constant cross-fertilization that has been occurring. It is, in fact, precisely because we are so well aware of the dominance of English Literature that it needs to be established that American Literature did slowly develop its own tradition and characteristics.

The English colonists who went to America naturally did not think of themselves as writing something called "American literature" any more than the Anglosaxons thought of *Beowulf* as material for the opening chapter of histories of English Literature. Nevertheless, just as Englishmen see in the writings of the Anglosaxons the beginnings of the language and spirit which was to be the glory of England in the 16th and 17th centuries, so in the writings of the American Colonists one may see the beginnings of that language and spirit which was to flower in America during the 19th century. It is not so much a matter of conscious difference; it is a matter of a certain type of Englishman living in an alien land and not only developing over a period of time different emphases in the language and subject he shared with great Britain but also working out a new idiom and choosing different subjects and objects. Hawthorne, as American Consul in Liverpool wondered what subtle influences had changed the Englishman in America from the red-faced phlegmatic types he had heard of. We may also wonder what influences made the work of Melville and Hawthorne so different from that of Dickens of Thackeray. Although this must remain, to some extent, in the realm of speculation, there are other areas of investigation in which we may be more precise than we show ourselves to be in the seminars on American Literature.

First, we may examine American Literature, closely from the 17th century to the 20th and note what American writers have in common. Second, we may compare American with English Literature. By so doing, it is possible to identify the distinguishing marks of American Literature and to chart its growth over these three hundred years. Looking backwards, it is possible to see how the very narrowness and peculiar preoccupations

of the American colonists directly foreshadow the troubled conscience and symbolic imagination of the "New England Renaissance", and above all, to relate the processes in the American quest for identity to our own problem of a similar nature, brought about by our unfortunate system of higher education.

I propose to underline some of the tendencies in American Literature from the beginnings which might give us a clue to a rational reorganisation of American Studies in our Universities.

Right from the beginning, American Literature has established characteristics which marked it off, noticeably from the English. For example, compared with the poetry of the England of the 17th Century the poetry of the c o l o n i e s is all of a piece. On one level, there is no comparison at all. But this is as it should be, for a few thousand fanatical colonists can hardly be expected to put up much of a showing against the mature and eclectic might of a nation from which they sprang. But one would surely not wish to compare on this childish basis; what one is concerned with is a certain homogeneity of tone in the limited output of the early American Poets, which may be illustrated by comparing Edward Taylor's "Housewifery" with the nearest one can find to it in 17th century English poetry. Taylor's contemporaries in England were Dryden and Mathew Prior but since there was always a time-lag in the colonies, and Taylor is obviously still living in the poetic age of the late metaphysicals, Herbert seems the fairest comparison and *The Pulley* the most apt example. In contrast with the naturalness of analogy and homeliness of imagery, (a strain, by the way, to be observed as running through all American Literature) characteristic of Taylor's poem, we have in Herbert the note of wordly wisdom. Herbert, who lives in an altogether larger, richer, subtler, more difficult world is forced to come to terms with human nature. Taylor, on the other hand, is not concerned with such problems. His poem merely reflects the force of his conviction, which is the community conviction of his people. He ignores the vagaries of human nature. His is a world of blacks and whites. Herbert's admits in-between shades and there is a touch of cynicism about his conclusion which Taylor could never permit himself.

> Let him be rich and weary, that at least
> If goodness lead him not, yet weariness

May toss him to my breast.

At the beginning, then, one remarks in American Literature along with the crudeness and the dullness of much of the verse, a certain felicity of tone which arises from the homeliness of imagery and a forthright attitude of mind. From Taylor to Emily Dickinson to Robert Frost it continues, but by the 19th century it is not dominant. It is found rather in side-channels where something of the strength of the old Calvinist way of life had remained, rather than in the main stream where puritanism lapses into the "genteel tradition".

One sees, therefore, from the time of Byrant onwards a second strain which draws on the high moral tone of puritanism, but which, over two hundred years, has lost its earthiness. If we compare Byrant with Wordsworth, we notice how personal the Englishman is by comparison. Byrant is curiously detached: there is a shadow between him and the reader. It is the characteristic note of a people, who lacking their forefather's ardent faith in the next world, have, nevertheless, retained something of their attitude towards this one.

These two paradoxical qualities, the one of earthiness, and naturalness, the other of thinness and high moral tone, afford something of a key to the understanding of American Literature. They are in fact its two constant and intermingling "traditions". And it is surprising that our academics, keen on proving an "American tradition" pay little attention to this, wasting their critical acumen on the tracing of Vedic influence on the formation of an American tradition[1]:

And much has been made, in recent years, of the symbolic tradition of American Literature, as if that were the only pre-occupation that one finds there. It is certainly remarkably strong, but scarcely less strong is the tradition of realism later becoming naturalism. These two literary strains which combine in different proportions in different writers, are nothing more nor less than the residual elements to these twin halves of the Puritan soul, so neatly represented in the 18th century of Jonathan Edwards and Benjamin Franklin. It would, of course, be foolish to equate

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1. cf: C. D. Narasimhiah's paper presented at the recent Conference in Srinagar and reprinted in the Summer issue of the *Literary Criterion*, 1968.

19th century American Symbolism (as indeed it has been done as evidenced by the catalogue of dissertations on American Literature) with the high moral tone of the 17th century New England theocracy. However, that they are associated, the one developing from the other, seems reasonably clear. Similarly American realism derives from the practical and lusty side of Puritanism, which never disappeared in spite of the seeming dominance of symbolism and the "genteel tradition" in the first half of the 19th century. The so called "rise of realism" after the Civil War, therefore, is merely the reappearance of a strain which was present all along.

Because they have approached them from different points of view, the different critics who have noticed the two basic traditions in American Literature have given them different names and emphases. Philip Rahv's "Paleface" and "Redskin" traditions are witty labels for the symbolist or "genteel tradition" on the one hand, and the realistic on the other. Other critics have used the term "vernacular" to describe the kind of writing which emerged after the Civil War and made that a term of contrast with the "genteel tradition". This, followed by our academics, is to approach the dichotomy from the point of view of style rather than of tone or emphasis. It is a useful distinction but the most convenient and self-explanatory term for these former attributes of the Puritan whole man, crystallised into 19th century literary modes, would seem to be the "symbolic" and the "realistic".

Like "classicism" and "romanticism", these exist not merely as the dominant tendencies of certain periods but as "moments of the human spirit" present and conflicting in individual writers. At the time of the New England "renaissance" (Hawthorne and Melville), symbolism seems dominant; then for a period after the Civil War-Twain-it is realism which appears to triumph. Yet even in these two classic periods, no one writer is completely either realistic or symbolic, and the more we approach the 20th century, the more do we find these elements mixed in proportion to the heat of the creative talent that fuses-them. Hemingway is an example of this.

In the first place, his work is shot through with symbolism, although since he is a 20th century writer, it is a far subtler kind of symbolism than Hawthorne's; it is so buried

sometimes that one can easily fail to notice it. In the second place, his style is an artful literary manipulation of the American vernacular, that mode of writing which was first used in a great way by Mark Twain. The more one reads Hemingway, the more one realises that, far from being a mere realist, he is a romantic-moralist in the great, if narrow, American tradition while his understated realism and the translated vernacular are merely the skeleton fabric into which he weaves the thread either of moral teaching or symbolism.

To read then, American Literature from the beginning to our times in terms of its own development is to realise that the subtle pressures which beset all writers in all places have been rather different in America than in England, and to know, by an examination of the evidence, what these particular pressures have been, is to understand American works far better than if one tried to force them into an English, and worse still, into an Indian context. The American knows these things by a kind of spiritual osmosis; he is aware in his blood of a different cultural climate and the only way for the foreigner to be possessed of this awareness is for him to immerse himself in the currents of American Literature to be able to see the parallel between Hawthorne and Hemingway and Whitman and Wallace Stevens. The work of even so "English" an American as Eliot is not completely understandable until one realises that he has felt these same pressures and that his very emancipation, his very act of conscious revolt has made his work different from that of any English poet.

When one lifts an American out of context, as was done so eminently by F. R. Leavis in the case of Henry James, merely because like most Americans, he is a moralist and among a dozen other writers, paid a close attention to George Eliot, it is only to half-comprehend him. The oddness of the procedure will perhaps be apparent if one contemplates putting Auden in the "great tradition" of American Literature. Affected by America he no doubt has been, but one can hardly understand his work, if one does not take into account the very gritty Englishness of Auden as seen in his early verse. A writer is not born in a vacuum and he cannot live in one. To understand the work of these Anglo-Americans, one needs to take into account the tradition and preoccupations of both English and American Literature; but where they are clearly more in the one than in the other stream, in

terms of *that* one they ought to be considered. Nor does it matter that many American writers have read English books or for that matter, Indian books. Indian writers read English, American and French books. But does that make them Englishmen, Americans or Frenchmen ?

The study of American Literature needs to be insisted on in India for the sake of that Literature and for its sake alone; politics should not enter into the picture, as is sadly the case now, and even when it does, it does not justify an *emotional prejudice* against the studies. American writers are not political in the same way as the sponsors of American studies in India might be, and after all, American Politicians do not understand their writers not agree with them when they do ! But to know American Literature is to understand the soul of America in a way that all the platitudes of our experts in American literature could never convey.

Some Factors Influencing Reproduction In Animals

By

Y. R. Malhotra

"IT is well known that almost all animals, except man, have a stated season for the propagation of their species."

This statement of Spallanzani (1784) is a common knowledge of today. In Kashmir we search for bird's eggs in spring or Summer. Insects make their appearance in the same season ; and the breeding season of various fishes is spread from April to October. So much so that we dont expect any animal except a few domesticated ones to breed in winter of Kashmir.

The statement of Spallanzani contains a clear recognition of two fundamental facts : (i) periods of reprcductive activity occur rhythmically, this rhythm having a connection with the changes of the seasons, (ii) The reproductive rhythm is liable to a greater or less extent, to be disturbed or altered by climatic or other ecological influences.

The only exception to a rhythmic breeding season is the man. But Zuckerman (1932) has stated that probably the primitive man had an annual breeding season in the spring. It is probable that the man by his ingenuity has ultimately freed himself of the environmental cycle by creating artifical conditions. The same may be true of certain domesticated animals like the poultry, bitches etc.

The periodicity of the breeding seasons is governed by the necessities of the young, which are generally born in a helpless state. The young, therefore, must be born at a time when ecological factors are helpful in establishing the young ones. This in a way also explains the independance of human body and young ones of other domesticated animals because of artificial conditions manipulated by the human agency. Thus eliminating the seasonal factor in their reproductive rythm.

The environmental factors are such an intricate series of Complex factors interacting with each other that it is exceedingly

difficult to evaluate the influence of individual factors such as temperature independently of the others.

A combination of such factors for the healthier development of the young ones should provide favourable conditions in the following.

i) A favourable temperature for the survival of the young ones.

ii) Abundant supply of producers and 'Consumers' (Plant and animal life), which forms the food for the young ones; who along with their parents feed voraciously. In connection with food production, an indirect role of light comes to the fore.

iii) Other factors like Oxygen content of the medium are nevertheless important, because the increase in the number of populations demands the increase in the consumption of Oxygen.

Thus the breeding season in animals is so adjusted that they breed in spring or summer when the above mentioned ecological conditions are at their best.

Apart from the regulation of the breeding season, which is essentially governed by the necessities of the young ones; ecological (physical and biotic) factors also play an important direct role in the process of maturation of the gonads, and in determining the culmination of maturity. These environmental factors are a set of intricate series that it becomes difficult to evaluate the influence of the individual factors. But for the sake of convenience these factors which influence reproduction and anchor breeding cycles may be individualized as:

1. Light.
2. Temperature.
3. Food supply.
4. Rainfall and drought.
5. Other stimuli as 'sex stimulus', without which evolution may not take place in some animals.

Light

The relationship between breeding cycles and daylight may not be difficult to asses. Apart from the direct relationship which will be considered later, indirect relationship like the dependence of animal food on light may not be difficult to understand. Plants, which owe their growth to light form the base of a food pyramid. Both Plants (Producers) and animal feeding on them (consumers) may ultimately form food for other animals.

The direct action of light on the gonadal cycle can be revealed by a number of observations. Most of the animals breed in spring or summer so that the animals get sufficient periods of daylight in the following seasons for the next maturity. Some fishes breed in spring, so that longer days can help gonad for the next maturity. Same can be spoken about the breeding seasons of Amphibia, Replilia Aves and Mammalia.

Once the relationship between the gonads and quantun of light was revealed, a series of experiments were conducted on different animals, to confirm the view. It may be stated over here that the experiments with light have mostly been conducted on the vertebrates, because it has already been established that in almost all the invertebrates, the favourable response is towards temperature, however in some like Polalo worm (Eunice) moonlight plays a part, but this stimulus has an indirect effect though the tidal system.

Photo stimulation and sexual periodicity.

It has been possible to breed different vertebrates outside their breeding seasons by the methods of light control. This on the whole suggests that an increase or decrease in light ration does have an effect on the gonadial cycle.

Tinbergen observed that in the fish (stickle back), mating and nest building takes place in January and February instead of May and July, if subjected to increments of artificial light. Hen's are subjected to artificial lighting by night to increase egg production. This practice has been applied in poultry husbandry for the last 120 years by the spaniards. It is possible that day light has an important role to play in the maturity of the gonads of various animals.

In some animals, however, the role of light in the maturity of their gonads does not appear to be significant. In nocturnal animals (who spend the day light hours in the darkness of a burrow) the dependance of gonadial maturity on light cannot be explained. In case light is an important factor in maturity, then we are not able to explain the propagation of deep sea animals, where even the short wave ultra-violet rays (some of which may be harmless) cannot penetrate.

Regarding the mode of action of light it is accepted that visual stimuli are conveyed to the anterior pituitary, through the

central nervous system, and that a close relationship exists between Hypothalamus and Hypophysis.

Lunar Periodicity.

It has long been known that in certain organisms there is a connection between the phases of the moon and breeding seasons The pearl oyster on the great barrier reef breeds in May and again in November, on both occasions at the full moon. The Palolo worm (*Eunice viridis*) which lives in the seas around Samoa and which spends the whole year hidden in crevices in the rocks, spawning occurs at dawn on the day before and the day on which the moon enters its last quarter in each of the month of October and November. So striking is this act of spawning and so precise is its timing, that the natives of Fiji have included it in their calendar.

The Californian grunnion fish *(Leuresthes tenuis)* has its mating and oviposition synchronized with high-tides. At the height of each spring tide the males and females swim in with the highest waves and partially bury themselves in the wet sand, where the eggs are deposited and fertilized. There the eggs remain untill the next "springs" two weeks later, when the eggs are washed back into the ocean by the recurring high tides. Some workers attribute this cycle to the tidal rhythm, while the others feel that the stage of moon is influential directly.

Among birds, also, there are indications that ovulation in the night jar is controlled by moon.

Role of Temperature.

The role of Temperature in the progress of sexual cycle has been stressed by a number of workers. But in the case of the role of temperature different studies are to be made in the cases of cold blooded and warm blooded animals.

The warm blooded (endothermic) birds and mammals, which regulate body temperature through the use of heat derived from the food by means of exothermic chemical reactions are much more independant of the environment ; and further, that Birds and Mammals usually prefer temperature 20°F and 30°F below that of the body.

The main problem of the ecto therms is to find a part of

environment, where comfortable temperature will be transmitted to the body. In reptiles this generally requires air or ground temperature in the vicinity of 85° to 100°F. Thus this optimum temperature range, is fairly uniform in all poikilotherms, and various metabolic processes including maturation and breeding will take place, preferably in this temperature range.

The importance of optimally high temperature in maturation and breeding of various cold blooded animals has been revealed by the study of different groups of Animals from Protozoa to Reptilia. All these animals fail to breed in severe winter conditions. In this connection it may be suggested that some reptiles which show *Ovo—viriparity*, have evolved this mode of internal development to enable the young one to tide over inclement conditions resulting either from cold at *altitudes above 4,000 ft* or from *dessication due to heat* in the hot inland plains of Australia.

Temperature as an important regulatory factor has also been observed by the present author in the case of Kashmir fishes. The spring spawners among these fishes (Fam : cyprinidae), reach maturity in December, but they breed only in late spring, when the temperature is within optimal range. The autumn spawners (Fam : Cobitidae) spawn in August and September ; but their gonads enter a state of Dormancy. Maturation of the gonad will start in spring or summer, on return of favourable temperature.

In warm blooded animals, although an optimum temperature is required for the growth of youngs of birds and mammals, still we find that the role of temperature in these cases is subordinate to that of light. Pheasents may lay eggs at a temperature below 0°C but on artificially lengthened days. The males of ground squirrel (*Citellus tridecemlineatus*) when kept at 40°F for one year remain in breeding condition throughout; the sexually quiescent phase failing to intervene

Hyperthermia : Macleod and Hotch kiss (1941) stated that three hours of artificially induced hyperthermia at 41°C resulted in testicular damage, in young healthy men. Febrile conditions associated with pneumonia and pox produced similar effects.

The regulating mechanism of temperature control is also located in hypothalamus of brain, which may receive the effect through the blood streams due to change in metabolic conditions.

Other Factors:

In deserts, or in relatively well watered areas the sexual cycles of vertebrates may be inhibited by *droughts* and stimulated to sudden activity by *rainfall.*

Latitudes & Altitudes :

The *latitudinal* change may not have a well marked influence on the reproductive activity of different animals. The response to such a change vary from animal to animal. On transfer from one hemisphere to another, some animals immediately switch their breeding season, to the time which is followed by the species in the new hemisphere. Some may, however, retain their original breeding time irrespective of the position relative to the equator. The effect of latitude, may be the same as that of light and temperature.

Altitude has a determining influence on the breeding of some animals. Breeding season of fishes is delayed at high altitudes. High altitude may also effect testicular function and fertility. According to the foundation chart of Lima, the capital of Peru was transferred in 1535 A. D. from Jauja (11,500 ft) to Lima (sea level), because horses, pigs and fowls did not reproduce in Jauja.

Food supply also acts as a trigger mechanism in determining the breeding season of some animals.

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Economic Planning in the light of Marx

By
M. L. Misri

WHEN major doctrines are sought to be assailed in the interests of pragmatism, a restatement of basic issues is not otiose. Economic planning is a real life process, and as such subject to diverse interpretations. What is often glossed over is the crucial fact that economic planning is an organic, all comprehensive process and that. therefore, piece-meal approaches based on empty tool-boxes can hardly be substitutes for meaningful policies. It is the purpose of this paper to focus attention on (a) the evolution of the concept of economic planning ; (b) the relevance of economic planning in the context of under-development ; and (c) the lessons of the Indian economic experiment.

I

The disintegration of Feudalism and the emergence of the bourgeoisie as a decisive social force in England cleared the decks for the onset of the Industrial revolution. The transition from fuedalism to capitalism took place in two stages. The first stage was marked by the simultaneous process of accumulation of wealth and the creation of a class of landless wage workers. The second stage was marked by the acceleration of the accmulation process through the factory system. Marx named the first stage as the stage of primitive accumulation. It was at this stage that capitalist production relations came of age.

The growth of capitalism contributed immensely to economic development through the huge powers of production it helped to create. Marx ccnceded this ungrudgingly in the following words :

> "The bourgeoisie, during its rule of scarcely one hundred years, has created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all preceding generations together. What earlier century bad even a presentiment that such productive forces slumbered in the lap of social labour".[1]

1. K. Marx and F. Engles, **Manifesto** of the Communist Party, Moscow, 1953. pp. 53-54

The growth of the factory system led to changes in English social life. This was the social setting in which Classical economics was born. It grew out "of the search of the industrial bourgeoisie for a way to achieve freedom of intiative, aiming at economic development, from the crippling fetters of fuedal institutions and guild as well as from mercantalist policies."[2] The Classical economists argued that free trade, division of labour, extension of markets, specialisation, savings and investments and the introduction of machinery would enhance production possibilities and the accumulation of wealth. They believed that perfect and competitive markets would ensure a just and optimum allocation of resources. The operation of the 'invisible hand' would ensure equilibrium and harmony of interesis. Ricardo, in fact, went further and invoked Say's Law of Markets to refute the Malthusian theory of gluts. Malthus belived that the rapid accumulation of capital would on the one hand increase output and on the other keep wages down. Thus a "general glut" of commodities would result from the relalative deficiency of "effective demand". The way out of this situation, according to Mathus, was the maintenance of a class of "unproductive consumers". In other words, a justification was sought for the existence of unproductive landlords. Ricardo refuted Malthus on the ground that difficulties arose cn account of the deficiency of capital rather than the opposite. In Ricardo's system "the interests of the landlord is always opposed to the interest of every other class in the community,"[3] and this made him advocate free trade in corn as against the defence of the corn laws advocated by Malthus.

However, Ricardo could not see beyond his nose. Economic development under capitalism has neither been harmonious nor uninterrupted. Booms and slumps characterised capitalist economic development right from the beginning. This was recognised by Engles as early as 1877. He said :

> "As a matter of fact since 1825, when the first general crisis broke out, the whole industrial and commercial world, productions and exchange among the civilised peoples and

2. O. Lange, 'Marxism and Bourgeosie economics', Enquiry, No. I, New Delhi, Page 1-2
3. Ricardo, 'Works and correspondence' [Sraffa's edition], Volume IV, Page 21.

their more or less barbaric hangers on, are thrown out of joint about once every ten years. Commerce is at a stand still, the markets are glutted, products accumulate,..... factories are closed.....The stagnation lasts for years..... until production and exchange gradually begin to move in again".[4]

Thus Engles refuted Say's Law of markets implicit in the Ricardian system. But the more fundamental fallacy of the classical school and particularly of Ricardo lay in the fact that they considered all accumulation as essentially an addition to the wage-fund. Thus growth in population would result in the diminution of profits, and hence accumulation, and the stock of capital. This phenomenon, coupled with diminishing returns, would eventually lead to a stationary state.

It was left to the genius of Marx to delve into the laws of motion of capitalism and to lay bare the fallacies inherent in the classical system. Marx refined the labour theory of value (elaborated earlier crudely by the classical economists) to demonstrate that capitalist accumulation essentially depended on the appropriation of surplus value generated in the process of production. He pointed out that "the magnitude of accumulation is the independent variable, that of the wage is the dependent one, not the other way round.....Law of Capitalist accumulation says in fact only that by its nature accumulation excludes any decrease in the degree of exploitation ; or any rise in the price of labour, such as could endanger seriously the steady reproduction of capital and its reproduction on a continuous and expanding scale[5]". In fact, a complex set of factors like competition, changes in the organic composition of capital and the concentration of capital in a few hands operate in Marx's theory of the accumulation of capital. A capitalist economy is, according to Marx, defined by private profits and accumulation for further investment and profits—the capitalist being merely "personified capital". "Accumulate, accumulate : That is Moses and the Prophets.....Therefore, save, save, i. e., reconvert the greatest possible portion of surplus value, or surplus product into capital ! Accumulation for accumulation's sake. Production for production's : sake by this formula classical economy expressed

4. F. Engles, 'Anti-Duhring,' Moscow, 1954, pp. 381-82.
5. Capital Volume I, Everyman, p. 686

the historical mission of the bourgeoisie and did not for a single instant deceive itself over the birth-throes of wealth"[6]—that is how Marx described the passion of the capitalists for more and yet more profits. It was in the process of accumulation that Marx found elements of both growth and break-down of capitalism. Marx developed his celebrated Departmental schema of simple and extended reproduction to reveal the dynamics of the process of accumulation. He divided an economy into two sectors, i. e., Department I (producing means of production) and Department II (producting consumers' goods). There are many commodities, (say, fuel oil) which have the quality of being both consumers' goods as well as producers' goods (depending on the use to which they are put). But for analytical reasons Marx ignored the problem. The aggregate value of gross national product, according to Marx, consists of constant capital (c), variable capital (v) and the surplus value generated (s). This means that

$$W=C+V+S \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots 1$$

Since there are two departments in the economy, this formula can be re-written by using subscripts.

$$\text{Deptt. I} \quad - \quad W_1 = C_1 + V_1 + S_1$$
$$\text{Deptt. II} \quad - \quad W_2 = G_2 + V_2 + S_2 \ldots\ldots 2$$

Simple reproduction refers to a situation where Depptt. I produces papital goods just enough to meet the depreciation and replacement requirements of the means of production in both the departments. This model can be illustrated in a simplified input-output table.

Outputs of the Departments

Inputs of the Departments		Deptt. I	Deptt. II	Total
	Deptt. I	C_1	(V_1+S_1)	$C_1+V_1+V_2$
	Deptt. II	C_2	(V_2+S_2)	$C_2+V_2+S_2$
	Total	(C_1+C_2)	$(V_1+S_1)+(V_2+S_2)$	C

6. Kart Marx, Capital Volume I, Chicago Charles H. Kerr & Co.page 618 1908.

This table gives us

$$\text{Deptt. I} - C_1 + \boxed{V_1 + S_1}$$

$$\text{Deptt. II} - \boxed{C_2} + V_2 + S_2$$

There are inter-departmental transactions and these include the purchase of capital goods (C_2) from Deptt. I by capitalists of Deptt. II and the purchases of consumer goods from Deptt. II by capitalists and labourers of Deptt. I. The intra-departmental transaction include the purchase of consumer goods by labourers and capitalists of Department II. Smooth productive activity makes it necessary that

$$C_2 = V_1 + S_1 \qquad - \quad (3)$$

However, simple reproduction is an abstraction from reality. Growth is the normal feature of every economy. "Accumulation resolves itself into the reproduction of capital on a progressively increasing scale. The circle in which simple reproduction moves, alters its form, and to use Sismondi's expression, changes into a spiral."[7] Thus accumulation of capital remains the primary motive force. The basic characteristic of expanded reproduction is that a portion of surplus value is saved and employed for expanding constant and variable capital. This gives us a new set of equations :

$$S = S_o + S_c + S_v \qquad \ldots \qquad 4$$

where S = Surplus value,

S_o = portion of surplus value consumed by the capitalists ;

S_c = portion of surplus value invested in expanding the stock of means of production ;

S_v = portion of surplus value used in the employment of additional labour power.

Thus the output of the two departments comes to

$$W_1 = C_1 + V_1 + SO_1 + SC_1 + SV_1$$
$$W_2 + C_2 + V_2 + SO_2 + SC_2 + SV_2 \qquad \ldots \qquad 5$$

The equilibrium condition is given by the following diagram :-

$$W_1 = C_1 + SC_1 + \boxed{V_1 + SC_1 + SV_1}$$

$$W_2 = \boxed{C_2 + SC_2} + V_2 + SO_2 + SV_2$$

7. K. Marx, Capital Vol 1, Chicago, Charles H Kerr & Co pp. 636—37.

The inter-departmental exchanges to be in equilibrium must given us $C_2 + SC_2 = V_1 + SO_1 + SV_1$ ... 6

Thus technically there is a possibility of equilibrium under both simple and extended reproduction. But Marx was quick to point out that this "balance is an accident."[8] The conditions of equilibrium are nulltified by the operation of other factors, viz., (a) the anarchic nature of production and the consequent disproportionalities between the two main departments, (b) the tendency of productivity to rise faster than real wage rates as a result of which the means of production grow faster than the demand for consumers' goods and (c) the tendency of technological advance to take a labour-saving rather than capital-saving form. Marx, therefore, came to the conclusion that instability and crises would characterise capitalism. At the same time, he laid to rest the classical prognosis about the stationary state. He pointed out that ".....in order that the transition from simple to expanded reproduction may take place, the production in Department I (the Department producing the means of production) must be enabled to create fewer elements for the constant capital for II (the department producing the means of consumption) and more for that of I. This transition which will not take place without difficulties is facilitated by the fact that some of the products of I may serve as a means of production in either department"[9]. Thus any given rate of growth in the output of consumers' goods requires, according to Marx, a higher rate of growth of producers" goods. Aren't the modern principles of Acceleration-Multiplier interaction implicit in the Marxian Scheme! To the problem of crises, Marx offered the solution of social control over the means of production to ensure equilibrium and sustained growth. "The proletariat will.....centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the state.....to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible".[10] The references to the concept of economic planning are obvious in the passage although not explicitly stated. Engles, however, was more sharp. He said "the social anarchy of production gives place to social regulation of production upon a definite plan.....Anarchy in social production is replaced

8. K. Marx, Capital, Vol. II, Mascow, page 578,
9. Karl Marx, Capital Vol. II
10. K. Marx & F. Engles, 'The Manifesto of the Communist Party,' Moscow page 30.

by plan-conforming; conscious organisation.. ...[11] Marx and Engles, however, did not live long to develop a comprehensive theory of planning.

It needs to be explicitly stated, however, that although Marx did not fore-see a smooth and steady growth under capitalism, he did not predict an end of growth itself. The final break-down of capitalism would be brought about by the contradictions inherent in the social relations of production under capitalism. The periodic depressions and unemployment would only intensify the basic capital-labour conflict.

The unprecendented growth of productive forces and the consequent high rates of growth in the capitalist countries led economists in the West to concentrate on the problems of the optimum allocation of resources. The Neo-classical economists, basking in the sunshine of economic expansion, developed the marginal technique of analysis. They concerned themselves mainly with the equilibrium principle and denied any significance to value other than that determined by the laws of supply and demand in an ideally free market. With the help of marginal analysis it was sought to be established that under a free, competitive market economy, an optimum allocation of resources would take place. The various factors of production would earn rewards according to their marginal productivity (Via Eulers' theorem). There would be full employment and a just distribution of resources and income. Despite temporary oscillations the economic system would tend to equilibrium in the long run. They believed, therefore, that the state should only intervene in order to remove all obstacles in the working of free competition. J. B. Say's theory of perfect equilibrium was again resurrected to disprove the necessity of economic controls and planning. The concern of the Neo-classics for greater welfare did not diminish their love for perfect competition. After all, a poor person can enhance his welfare by raising his skill in order to be able to compete ! The pre-occupation of the Neo-classical economists with the equilibrium principle relegated the problems of economic growth into the background.

The great crash of the thirties which shook all the capitalist countries exposed, as if in a flash, the latent weaknesses of the capitalist system. All the finely chiselled idols of capitalism such as free enterprise, price mechanism, profit motive, the sovereignty

11. F. Engles-Anti-Duhring, Moscow, pp. 387-88 and 411.

of the consumer and full employment broke down under the dead-weight of this crisis. A wave of disillusionment over took the smug politicians and economists in the western countries. Prof. Hicks said, "I do not think one could count upon the long survival of anything like capitalist system .....one cannot express the thought that perhaps the whole industrial revolution of the last two hundred years has been nothing else but a vast secular boom."[12] Thus the diehardism of the Marshallian era started waning. The new heart-searching on the part of economists to devise ways and means of ensuring stable and secular growth led to the birth of Keynesian economics. Keynes thought that the allocation of resources was at its optimum under capitalism. But the occurence of over-production on the one hand and the lack of effective demand on the other demonstrated that something was wrong with market mechanism. So Keynes opened out the perspective of monetary and fiscal reforms to keep demand proportionate to output. He advocated increases in the marginal propensity to consume by shifting income in favour of the low income groups so that effective demand could be kept high. Keynes also suggested pump-priming devices to generate effective demand via the multiplier and compensatory autonomous investment so that the lack savings and investments do not cause a break-down in the economy. He postulated equality between savings and investments as fundamental to economic equilibrium and stability and considered investment as a demand generating factor and saving as a demand reducing factor. More often than not the savers and the investors are two different categories of people with the result that savings and investments diverge. Hoarding obviously is the fly in the ointment! Hence the need for state intervention to fill up the gaps left by the capitalist or the rentier. It is clear that Keynes advocated increased state intervention and controls in order to generate effective demand and to maintain the tempo of investments in the economy. The keynesian remedies, however, did not go far in resolving the basic dilemma facing the capitalist countries. Keynes was primarily interested in the short-run, as according to him "in the long period we are all dead". He did realise the limitations of his short-term analysis and pointed out that each time we secure today's equilibrium by increased investment we are aggravating the difficulty of securing equilibrium tomorrow.[13] In fact Keynes' analysis

12. J. R. Hicks-Value and Capital, Oxford University Press, 1933 p. 302.
13. J. M. Keynes, The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money, Macmillam and Co, London, 1957. pp. 105

of the various factors determining investments made him a stagnationist. He believed that since the marginal efficiency of capital was fairly inelastic over the long period, the growth of capital through investments would lead to capital saturation and a decline in further investment opportunities. Due to his short-period bias, however, Keynes failed to realise that the growth of income (demand) which investment brings about would prevent capital saturation The basic problem of the capitalist economies is that they are not able to resolve the duality inherent in the very nature of investment activity. Investment creates income (demand) on the one hand and adds to productive capacity on the other. The problem is to create a balance between the two. But the capitalist system has a tendency to accumulate too rapidly than the rate of increase in consumption can justify or sustain. This essential point has been succinctly expressed by Prof. Hanson in the following words with reference to Amerian Economy (1953—59) : "Output has been lagging far behind capacity. We have been running around average of 30 billion dollars per year below our GNP potential throughout the six year period since 1953. This represents a cumulative loss in these six years of around 180 billion dollars".[14] It is the problem of the proper balance between income and productive capacity that the post-Keynesians like Harrod and Domar have grappled with. They have tried to dynamise the Keynesian theory in terms of the principles of multiplier and acceleration. The dynamic equilibrium they have established between savings and investments has only made the unstable stable. Harrod's "warranted rate of growth" is, at best, a bastard "golden age", in which full employment cannot be ensured A production function is determined by technological as well as behaviouristic conditions. That contains the seeds of trouble. Uncertainty characterises enterpreneurial behaviour and that generates bouts of optimism and pessimism in economic behaviour. Here one is reminded of the famous dictum of Marx—"The real barrier to capitalist production is capital itself".

Meanwhile, capitalism has undergone a metamorphosis. Giant oligopolies have subverted competition. The inevitability of state intervention in economic life has given rise to some kind of planning and controls. But it is obvious that under capitalism planning is not resorted to for optimising growth, but to seek solution to the problems of growth itself. That explains the failure of econometric studies to offer solutions to the pressing problems of unemployment,

14. Hanson : 'Economic Issues of the 1960's' ; p. 65.

balance of payments difficulties and the rational utilisation of productive capacity. Thus it is that the Marxian approach to planning emerges as the only rational solution. The equilibrium between productive capacity and demand can only be secured under the conditions of social ownership of the means of production. Paul M. Sweezy has correctly pointed out, "When we come to the social problems of historical interpretation and social diagnosis, it is only Marx who provides us with a comprehensive, integrated science of society and social change."[15] Economic planning is the end-product of rational and scientific comprehension of the basic problems of society. Marx with his encyclopeadic canvas had the capacity to go beyond appearances and to discern the basic ills of capitalism.

II

The underdeveloped countries of the world constitute nearly two-thirds of the human race. All these countries have remained at a much lower level of economic development in terms of the absolute size of industrial output, productivity per man employed, output per capita and the standards of living. Economic planning therefore, assumes a special import and significance for these countries. Almost all these countries have remained colonial or semi-colonial for a historically long period of time with the result that economic growth in these countries got arrested. All these countries, by and large, remained agricultural plantation and raw material hinterlands of the capitalist countries. The foreign monopolists extracted profits from these countries and used these for reinvestment in their own countries. Thus the classical path of capitalist development was denied to the under-developed countries. Surrinder Patel has estimated that between 1850-1950 the world industrial output at per capita rate of growth was 2.6% per annum compared to 1% or even less in preceding centuries. But the under-developed countries did not benefit from this tremendous growth in industrial output; all they experienced was what Prof. Mrydal calls the "backwash effect".

The disintegration of colonialism has made it possible for these countries to launch programmes of economic development. The question is: Has Marxist economics any relevance to the

15. P. Sweezy, "Marxism and Orthodox Economics" included in 'A symposium on Keynesian Economics" P. P. H., edited by V. B. Singh, pp. 80.

problems of under-developed countries? The answer is in the affirmative. Economic development in the context of poor economies simply means industrialisation What is indicated, therefore is the growth of the magnitude of capital stock in these countries. Thus reliance on idealist theories based on Schumpeterian and Weberian analytical approaches which attribute low output per head to the lack of the spirit of enterprise and other psychological factors would only perptuate the low-income-low output vicious circle in these countries. The growth of capital stock in the build up period depends on the size of Department I. It is here that the Marxian scheme of extended reproduction can give meaningful results. The rapidity of economic growth is predicated upon the margin by which the output of Department I exceeds the replacements requirements for capital goods of Department I and II. Paul M. Sweezy has sharply posed the issued; "A large expansion demand from Department I is equivalent to rapid industrialisation, a small expansion demand to slow industrialisation."[16] From this theorem it follows that the growth of the capital goods sector must receive priority in the programme of industrialisation in the poor countries. Such a strategy of growth can help build the infrastructure so vital to economic growth. Capital investments in infrastructure are lumpy and indivisible in character. Thus "for a long time the growth of Department I must anticipate and be largely independent of the growth of consumption. This anticipatory and independent expansion of Department I is precisely that we mean by industrialisation".[17] It is true that the products of Department I do not immediately satisfy consumer wants and to that extent consumption is restricted. But this is implicit in the rules of the game. The apparent conflict between the growth of capital and consumption is only a short-term phenomenon; in the long-run it is resolved. Increased investments in the capital goods sector increases the flow of machines to Department II in the next period. Besides, higher investments in the capital-goods sector brings about higher productivity of labour, which not only lowers capital-output ratios, but generates investible surplus in course of time.

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16. P. M. Sweezy, "A Crucial Difference Between Capitalism and Socialism" 'From The present as History,' New York. Monthly Review Press, 1953.
17. P. M. Sweezy, Ibid

The priority to capital goods sector is not possible to establish in an unplanned economy for the simple reason that in this case the accelerator works in reverse. Private enterpreneurs are motivated by profit consideration and this is not ensured by producing capital goods. Since an under-developed economy suffers from "disequilibrim at the factor level" (scarcity of capital and abundance of labour) the capitalists will resort to labour-intensive methods of production so that immediate employment (income) and output increase. The price of labour being low, the capitalist is ensured of his profits. But even if capital goods are developed what will happen when the basic build-up period is over. In other words, "what happens as the period of industrialisation approaches an end", when "Department I has been built up to the point where it can meet all the replacements and expansion demands of Department II".[18] Sweezy answers the question in the following words : "classical and neo-classical theorists ..... would have argued that the price mechanism would operate to bring about a falling rate of profit (or interest) which, in turn, would check accumulation and stimulate consumption. This would happen in one or both of two ways. First, the fall in the rate of profit might be sharp enough to lower the relative share of capitalists,.....Second, a decline in the rate of profit world in any case induce capitalists to accumulate less and consume more.... But it is certainly impossible today to maintain that the capitalist price system works this way. Relative shares have been shown to be remarkably resistant to change under the most diverse conditions, and very few would still argue that there is a significant relation between the mere rate of profit and capitalists' attitude towards accumulation and consumption..... there is no reason to suppose that the approach at the end of the period of industrialisation would set in motion a mechanism accelerating the growth of consumption at the expense of accumulation ... Other things being equal, in capitalist system the fruits of industrialisation, instead of being enjoyed in the form of increasing consumption are dissipated in unemployment and depression".[19] On the other hand, Sweezy says in a planned economy, "The planning board, seeing that the basic build-up of the country's industrial equipment is nearly accompolished, will shift resources to Department II as rapidly as they become available and will channel the greater part of fresh accumulation into further expanding Department II

18. P. M. Sweezy, Op. Cit
19. Sweezy, Ibid.

.... the board will plan for a much more rapid expansion in the output of consumers' goods. And in order to ensure that this flood of consumers' goods finds a market the board needs only progressively lower their prices.....in other words, the end of the period of industrialisation ushers in, not a period of continuous depression (actual or potential), but rather a period of genuine fulfilment".[20]

The ramifications of the build-up period under capitalism and planning are quite different. Only planning ensures the full utilisation of the productive capacity generated in the process of industrialisation. The Marxian approach is not based on idealistic fantacies. The poor countries are facing an almost inelastic demand for their export products on the world market. That explains the diminishing percentage of their share in world trade. It has been estimated that between 1950-63 world trade expanded nearly three times. It was valued at 56 million in 1950 and rose to 154 million in 1963. The share of the under-developed countries declined from 32% in 1950 to 20% in 1963. On the other hand, the share of the developed and that of the socialist economies increased from 60% to 68% and 8% to 11% respectively. This trend in international trade demonstrates that the under-developed countries have to adopt a strategy of import substitution. The worsening of the terms of trade of these countries caused by monopoly practices on the international market has made it imperative to re-shape foreign trade policies so that capital goods can be secured with the meagre foreign exchange available to them.

Fuedalism is strongly entrenched in almost the whole belt of the New World. This has kept the 'actual surplus' very low. Huge amounts of 'potential surplus' are hidden in these countries. This hidden surplus needs must be mobilised for productive investments. This calls for institutional changes—a change in property-relations, so that an atmosphere conductive to growth is generated It is true that 'potential surplus' evades quantification, and is therefore incapable of being a variable in an econometric model. But then property-relations are even more difficult to measure. Does that imply that fuedalism and the irrational dissipation of resources that goes with it should not be touched? The Marxian theory of social change based on the historicity of institutions

20. Paul M. Sweezy, Op. Cit.

is an integrated theoratical system and can provide proper in-sights into the dynamics of planning.

Reverting to the Departmental schema of Marx. The logic of emphasising Department I is that it leads to more rapid economic growth and in the long run to a greater output of consumers' goods. It was this logic which underlay the Mahalonobis growth model for the Indian economy. Mahalonobis conceded that in K-sector of his model (industries producing investment goods) the marginal increase of income per unit of investment (βk) was quite small relative to the marginal increase of income generated per unit of investment (βc) in sector C, 1. C. 2, C. 3 (which are symbolic expressions for industries producing consumers' goods in factories, small and household industries and services respectively). This signified that the lower the ratio of λk (fraction of total investment allocated to sector-K) relative to λ_1, λ_2 and λ_3 (fraction of total investment allocated to C. 1, C. 2, and C. 3 respectively) the higher would be the growth of national income. Conversely, the higher the ratio of λk relative to λ_1, λ_2 and λ_3, the lower would be the growth of the national income. But long-term consideration weighed with Mahalonobis and a high value was assigned to λk in the belief that "after a critical period of several years", the national income would grow at a higher rate. Thus λk became the crucial parameter in the Mahalonobis model. The Mahalonobis model has a family resemblance with the Feld'man model which was based on investment priority for heavy industry. The crucial equation of the Feldman model, expressing the growth-rate as a product of the proportionate size of the capital goods sector (net of capital goods produced for replacement), measured in terms of productive capacity, multiplied by the effectiveness of capital, is

$$D' = S. \frac{Du}{D}$$

Where S stand for the effectiveness of capital (or output to capital ratio)

Du for the output of the sector producing new capital goods (i.e., net of production for replacement which was included in the other sector),

D for total output, and

D' for the rate of increment of output, or the growth rate of the economy as a whole.[21]

The resemblance between the two models is obvious. A desire to achieve rapid economic growth leads to similar thinking, irrespective of the barriers of geography and space !

III

The Indian economic experiment only confirms what has been mentioned earlier.

The first five-year plan was only a rehabilitation programme, aimed at restoring the pre-war and pre-partition equilibrium in the economy. An effort at genuine planning started with the second plan, in which priority was given to the development of the industrial sector, particularly the capital goods sector.

The success of industrialisation is predicated upon the availability of savings. The thesis that saving is a crucial determinant of economic development has received considerable emphasis in all theorems, short-term and long-term, static and dynamic. Thus the United Nations' World Economy Survey of 1960 points out.

"..... ..investment is of the utmost importance in the process of economic growth .....if the low-growth countries are to accelerate their rate of growth through increases in investment there is no escaping the fact that corresponding increases in savings must be secured,"

It is not the average rate of saving that is vital in a growing economy, but the marginal rate of savings. The pattern of investment, income and consumption is essentially reflected in the marginal rate of savings.

However, savings in India have not increased at the stipulated or desired rate.

The following table shows an estimate of savings and aggregate investments in India :—

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21. Reproduced by Dobb in his 'The discussion of the twenties on planning and economic growth' Soviet Studies, 1965.

(Rs. Crores at 1948—49 prices)

Year	Saving	Net capital inflow	Investment 1+2	Investment as proportion of national income
1950—51	503.2	—7.3	495·9	(5.6)
1951—52	483.2	+204.8	688.0	7.6
1952—53	393.3	—16.4	376.9	4.0
1953—54	540.9	—3.3	537.6	5.4
1954—55	817.4	+49.7	876.1	8.4
1955—56	1019.2	+66.4	1085.6	10.4
1956—57	1047.2	+367.7	1414.7	12.9
1957—58	762.7	+467.6	1230.3	11.3
1958—59	861.1	+369.2	1230.3	10.6
1959—60	1009.2	+237.6	1245.8	10.5
1960—61	1235.2	+447.7	1682.9	13.2
1961—62	1212.2	+336.5	1548.7	11.9
1962—63	1300.7	+393.7	1694.4	12.7

Sources :—Khatkhate and Deshpande :
"Estimatas of Savings and Investment in Indian economy—1950—51 to 1962—65"—R.B.I. Bulletin, March 1965.

These estimates are much below the stipulated rates of growth of savings. The Planning Commission had targetted for the following increases in the rates of the magnitudes of :—

Investments, domestic savings and inflow of foreign capital as a proportion of national Income.

By the end of	*Investment percent*	*Domestic savings percent*	*Inflow of foreign capital percent*
First Plan	7·3	6.6	0.7
Second Plan	11	7·3	3·7

By the end of	*Investment percent*	*Domestic savings percent*	*Inflow of foreign capital percent*
Third Plan	14—15	11.5	3·5
Fourth Plan	17—18	15—16	1—2
Fifth Plan	19—20	18—19	1

Source :— The Five Year Plans.

In 1961 alone domestic savings as a proportion of national income were about 8—9%, while these were expected to be about 11%. In 1967 these slumped to a about 8%. It has also been estimated by NCAER that between 1948-49 and 1957-58 the marginal saving-income ratio has been in the neighbourhood of 20% while as it should have been 25%. Due to the failure of the rate of savings, both average and marginal, to grow in accordance with the needs of development effort, even the modest targetted rates of growth were never achieved. The "take off" that we were supposed to cross by 1975 has time and again been postponed. The increases in population, unforeseen natural calamities like draughts did contribute partly to the sluggishness of the rate of economic growth. But the basic malady lies in the failure of the domestic rate of savings to rise. The recent recessionary trend have only confirmed this. For sometimes it was believed that the recession was caused by the droughts and the decline in farm incomes and output that resulted thereof. This partly explains the story, but it is recognised now that the main cause was the lack of public investments. A careful perusal of statistics shows that actually the growth rate started decelerating right from the middle of the third plan. A major cause of this was the failure of investments rate to rise. The moral is that intensified efforts must be made to mobilise domestic resources to accelerate economic development in the country.

The alternative to domestic savings is increased inflow of foreign capital and aid. This is, however, a highly undependable instrument. Foreign capital will not oblige us unless we are prepared to pay certain costs—may be, it includes the giving up of the development efforts itself ! The experience of devaluation has taught us that our exports cannot rise by monetary manipulations. A sustained effort to enhance the quality of our goods has to be made, in addition to reducing the costs of production. This

incidentally also means that inflationary methods of financing our development efforts must be stopped. The industrially developed countries of the west are passing through a recessionary phase, and balance of payments difficulties. They will try to solve their problems by passing on their burdens to countries like India. So neither the import of foreign capital nor reliance on exports hold any propsect of helping us through our problems. The way out is to stand on our own legs (up-by-the-boot-straps). Thus Indian planning has reached a crucial stage. Either we take bold measures to (a) curb unproductive consumption and (b) mobilise resources for economic development or we acquiesce in the present stagnation. The nationalisation of banks, introduction of land reforms and co-operative farming, rationalisation of the licensing system, re-orientation of foreign trade, extension of the public sector, democratic management of state enterprises, and curbing of monopolies are some of the measures that could make resources available for investment and growth. Whether these measures will be taken in more than one can say. Meanwhile, the more sophisticated among the economists of the Establishment have started saying that the politics of pursuation has not paid dividends in terms of economic growth. One can only wait and watch where this reasoning leads them to. Economic growth demands that parameters be transformed into variables. The institutional frame-work in our country has so far, by and large, functioned as a parameter. So the insight of Karl Marx about the historicity of institutions could come to our rescue.

IV

If Indian economists could take courage and refuse to fall a prey to the theory of "convergence" and "techno-structure" put forth by Prof. Galbraith and the mechanistic stages—of growth propounded by Rostow, it would more than compensate the loss of face we have already suffered. Many of the these propounded by Karl Marx in his day have lost their validity. Capitalism has also under-gone a structural and functional change. But Marxism is not a philosophy; it is, even according to Marx, only a method. Historical materialism as a method is as relevant today as it was when first propounded. The forward-looking students of economics have a lot to learn from Marx. Mathematical rigour in economic analysis has to be dovetailed with social realism; otherwise all academic exercises will be futile and self-defeating.

ANARCHISM : A Brief Study

By

Mr. R. R. Parihar

THEORIES on the nature and function of a State range from those which dispense with it altogether, to those which extol it as the basis of all civilization. "Anarchism", as the etymology of the word indicates, stands for an absolute individualism. But in political theory, it differs from the individualistic in that it stands for no government at all. The modern notion, of the State as the principal of a hateful trinity, with property and religion as the associate members, is derived from this theory.

Anarchism as a political doctrine is not a modern phenomenon. Zeno spoke of a Stateless society as the fundamental requisite for a really free and perfect moral life of an individual—a sentiment astonishingly original in that it is of a time when Plato and Aristotle were formulating the basis of the modern concept of a State. Later in Christendom, certain Christian mystics held the State to be a superfluous encumbrance to the faithful. In the eighteenth century, doctrines of human rights and their concomitant, the perfectability of human nature, naturally gave rise to anarchistic theories. In this article I propose to summarise some of these theories.

William Godwin (1756—1836), has often been called the first modern anarchist. Godwin's doctrine was not fully anarchist, although in his most important political work *An Enquiry Concerning Political Justice* he gushes over liberty, equality and fraternity in the true 18th century fashion, subscribing to the view that human nature is fundamentally good, peaceful and cooperative and refers to the social and moral corruption public authority and private property bring about. However, he believes in the inevitability of some form of the authoritative state for a long time before the recovery of true human nature.

Thomas Hodgskin (1787—1869), was a Utopian anarchist in the Victorian era. He would seem to have been greatly influenced by Adam Smith's individualist doctrine. He believes that the

universe is governed by permanent and invariable laws, and since man is a part of the universe, his conduct is influenced and controlled by immutable laws in the same manner as the growth of plants and the motion of heavenly bodies is conditioned by natural laws. He therefore holds that all law-making, except when its object is the repeal of all laws is empty.

Pierire Joseph Proudhon (1809—1865) in his provocative *What is Property* attempts to relate property to theft. In the same work, he asserted "I am in the full sense of the word an anarchist." He condemns the state because it represents the power of passion over reason, and justice and because it is instrumental in perpetuating the inequalities due to private property, in its exploitative and monopolistic aspects. Accordingly, he seeks to eliminate these features of private property, working out fantastic plan for a "Bank of the People" issuing labour notes representing so many units of labour to be sent on security of work offered.

In Henry David Thoreau (1817—1862); Josiah Warren (1791—1874), Stephen Pearl Andrews (1812—1886) and Benjamin Tucker, we meet what may be described as the beginnings of an American anarchist tradition. Of them, Thoreau makes a case for the supermacy of conscience over the law and believes after the manner of the transcendentalists, in man's natural impulse to goodness and man's perfectability under the guidance of a free and rational will. As for Warren, he expresses his ideas mainly through the columns of the American weekly *Peaceful Revolutionist* and is chiefly remembered as a strong influence on his distinguished disciple Behjamin Tucker. Tucker in a fragmentary essay on *An Exposition of Philosophical Anarchism*, defines government as the subjection of the non-invasive individual to an external will. According to him, the familiar forms of invasive action of the state are taxation, military security, the administration of justice, and the coercive protection of individual industrial property for those who hold it parasitically, without any creative labour on their part.

In recent Indian political thought, one may find considerable anarchist tendencies Mahatma Gandhi, his spiritual heir, Vinoba Bhave to a notable degree. To Mahatma Gandhi the state represents violence in a concentrated and organized form. The individual has a soul but the state with violence inherent in it, is a soulless machine. A society based on complete Satya and

Ahimsa alone can be totally free from administration as we know it, and as these are almost impossible to attain, the truly stateless society is of value only as an ideal and Gandhiji's choice is therefore in favour of a predominantly non-violent state.

Vinoba Bhave develops and amplifies these ideas in greater detail in his *Sarvodaya Ka Adharsh* and *Lok Niti.*

As regards Jai Parkash Narain, his recent speeches and writings reveal his near anarchist position. A perusal of his essay, "Plea for the Reconstruction of the Indian Polity" reveals how intensely he is conscious of the evils of the modern contralized state, and how keen he is on the decentralisation of all authority.

It is however in the writings and adventurous careers of the two Russian anarchists—Michael Bakunin (1814—76) and Prince Kropotkin (1842—1921) that revolutionary anarchism may be said to have received an exhaustive philosophical analysis.

Bakunin, a Russian aristocrat earlier marked for a military career went anarchist because of his disgust with and hatred for the Czarist violence of which he had personal experience in his youth. According to Alexander Gray, Bakunin's place and influence in history are more significant than the nature of his ideas or the texture of his writings, which are incoherent unoriginal fragments inspired essentially by Proudhon, and Marx. His best known work is an untitled fragment later known as "God and the State".

The state, he believes, was born, in all countries out of violence, rapine and pillage, in a work, war and conquest. It has been, from its very origin, and is, at present, the divine sanction of brutal force and triumphant inequality. The state is authority, it is force: even when it commands what is good, it hinders and spoils it just because it commands it, and because every command provokes and excites the legitimate revolts of liberty, and because the good, from the moment it is commanded becomes evil from the point of view of human respect and of liberty. Liberty, morality and the dignity of man consists precisely in this that he does good not because it is commanded but because he concieves it, wills it and loves it.

Bakunins' ideas regarding the existing social and economic injustice, the nature of capitalist exploitation of the working class

are very Marxist In the aforesaid work, he concentrated and used his ammunition on what he regards as the two great tyrants of mankind—God and the State, few entities which reinforce each other.

Prince Kropotkin unlike Bakunin, really possesses a princely charm of inoffensiveness and is reflective of his intense hatred of his opponents and the things they stand for. Among his principal works are: *The Conquest of Bread (1898)*, *Fields, Factories and Workshops (1899)*, *Mutual Aid, A factor of Evolution (1902)* and *Modern Science and Anarchism (1903)*, Kropotkin's distinctive contribution to anarchism lies in the fact that he endeavours to analyse it scientifically. He describes the anarchist society as a free organization, a principle of theory of life and conduct under which society is conceived without government harmony in such a society being obtained not by submission to law or by obedience to any authority but by free agreements concluded between the various groups, territorial and professional, freely constituted for the sake of production and consumption, as also for the realization of the infinite variety of needs and aspiraticns of a civilized being.

Leo Tolstoy, was also an anarchist alth ough from the view point of his attitude towards violence, he is more at home with Thoreau and Mahatma Gandhi than any one else in the country of his birth. His doctrine has been called Christian anarchism. He finds the state and private property incompatiable with true Christianity.

The state to the anarchist is the citadel of force, symbolic of a wooden soulless authoritarianism.

It will not be out of place to mention a few more points, which a discussion of the concept of a anarchism gives rise to. Anarchism is a redically extreme reaction against the evils of government and, as such, it rightly confronts our sense of citizenship with a challenge which we should do well to take seriously, and the believer in political institutions should seek to make them more worthy of popular allegiance. Much of the anarchist criticism of the state is not without justification but it is grossly exaggerated and any conceivable substitution for the existing state system would not be free from objections to which the state is subjected by its anarchists critics If the present type of state were destroyed,

as the anarchists so fervently desire and hope, the forms of social organization proposed by them would soon develop into a state. Moreover the anarchist picture of a society without the state is vague and nebulous, however plausible it may appear at points. Some of the presumptions in their analysis are hard to swallow. For instance, it is wrong to assume that all governmental authority is founded upon and begotten of aggression and that it necessarily involves the use of force. A large part of the activity of every government is in the form of aid and assistance and involves no compulsion upon any individual. Another presumption that restraint and liberty are incompatible is not tenable. Indeed, history amply demonstrates that civilization, order, and peace are achieved only by placing restraints upon the unlimited freedom of individuals. It is hard to see how the individual can be capable of exercising self-restraint on all anti-social proclivities, however desirable and excellent it may be to do so.

For further Reading

1. G. W. Garner : *Political Science and Government*
2. Berland Russell : *Roads to Freedom*
3. F. Coker : *Recent Political Thought*
4. R. N. Gilchrist : *Principles of Political Science*
5. C. E. M. Joad : *Modern Theory*
6. N. K. Bose : *Studies in Gandhism*
7. G. N. Dhawan : *The Political Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi*
8. Alexander Gray Brown : *The Socialist Tradition*

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